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THE

CASTLE-BUILDERS;

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF

WILLIAM STEPHENS,

OFTHE

Isle of Wight, Esq; lately deceased.

A

POLITICAL NOVEL,

Never before published in any Language.

In every Work, regard the Writer's End;
Since None can compass more than they intend.

Pope's Essay on Crit.

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR.

M DCC LIX.

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TO

Mrs. SUSANNAH,

AND

Mrs. ANN STEPHENS.

LADIES,

T falling to my Share to burn the Papers of your late Uncle's Family, my Curiofity led me, before I committed them to the Flames, to look into the Causes of their Decay and Ruin; and, finding several striking Circumstances, I minuted such of them as seemed to be most worthy of Notice; as well from the earliest Account of them, before that

iv DEDICATION.

Estate was hastily got by your great Grandsather, as to the Time of its being spent, and after, to the total Subversion of the Family.

And, upon Perusal of the Facts which were collected, I found Nothing so uncommon or extraordinary in the Thread of that Life, which was cut short before the Business of Heaping was accomplished, as to have made it worth while to leave any Memoirs relating to him, or to those from whom he descended, though They might have better deferved it.

But what mostly engaged my Attention, was the uncommon Behaviour of his Grandson, who appears to have been determined to go thro' Life Life in one direct Line; to which Resolution he adhered, perhaps beyond any Example of the Age in which he lived; insomuch that, if the next should refine upon this, as this has done upon the last, it will be no more believed, in the Country to which his Birth was an Honour, that such a Man ever existed, than it is elsewhere, that Jesus Christ was the Son of God.

It is not meant so to extol his Tallents, as to compare them with those supposed to excel, whether in Learning, Wisdom or Valour: However, tho' he seems to have aimed at the Negative Character, of doing no Wrong; and tho' he stooped not for Honouror Riches, in the Church or the Field, nor at the Bar or the Royal-Exchange;

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yet it does not appear, that he was either a Knave or a Fool. But, it is too arduous a Task formeto write in Defence of a Person's Conduct, who spent his Estate in doing what he did really and truly believe was right.

What can be offer'd in behalf of the unpardonable Sin of Poverty in the Age of Plutus? And when of fix Politicians (in their great Wisdom and Care, and on the most mature Deliberation of the State of their Country, and a thorough Scanning of the Actions of Ministers) five shall be exclaiming against that infernal Race, that was extirpated before the Nation was plunged over Head and Ears? Now what, in the Name of Nonsense, have the Omistions,

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fions, of any Set of Men, to do with those who were murdered an Hundred Years ago? But in Justification of that Murder, and all its hopeful Consequences, it is said, if it had not been committed, the Regicide himself would have been executed; which is undoubtedly convincing, if not admitting the Argument.

But here lies the Affair; the Five are Slaves to—What? The prefent Power—No Matter in whose Hands it lies. They shall vote for Placemen, and wonder at the Sums which They vote; and if one of these be told, that he is inconsistent, in saying one Thing and doing another; or asked why he himself voted for one whom he knew to be biassed? he frankly consesses that to be his

viii DEDICATION.

own Case indeed; and asks if you do not think him a Fool that does not take Care of himself.—To be sure—He has a Family. And if you happen to hit a Blot of his Patron; Sir, his Lordship is my Friend—and General Hopson had his Advocates, when I foretold the Honour and Profit of the last Expedition of all, where he commanded, and where he died like himself.

And yet this Sort of Admiration happens every Day, among those whose Interest is to give Way to Nothing; and in Excuse for themselves and their Friends, they plead the Words of St. Paul; But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own House, he hath denied the Faith, and is worse than

than an Infidel. Let then these Murmurers seriously consider too, as a learned Divine expresses himself, to this or the like Effect; namely, He that has Regard only to his own, is little better than an Infidel, and perhaps the Wonder may cease; for it may justly be questioned, whether the Apostle meant that any should provide for his own, at the Expence of Others.

However, Extremes are always wrong; and as it is sufficient, that one Man does the Business of One; it must be granted, that the Gentleman who did more, must have been wrong; as appears by the Event, which is the common, tho' sometimes unfair, Way of judging. But yet, as his own Family and his very b Creditors,

X DEDICATION.

Creditors, a malicious One excepted, honoured his Virtues, from a Sense that his Debts exceeded his Effects in no very large Sum; and since they censured him not, as one of dishonourable Intentions, who besides should presume to blame his Conduct? Surely, not those in the Country, which he served at the Expence of his Estate, much less have a Set of Men, to whom he more immediately owed his Ruin, a Right to reproach that Name, which it would better become them to vindicate.

He met with better Treatment in Scotland and elsewhere; for not-withstanding he stretched the Credit of the York-Buildings Company, to such a Length as there are sew Instances of, yet the People lamented the

the Loss of him: And, recovering himself, after he had made a Slip in Georgia, he was restored to Favour by a People, who would otherwise have very justly hated him, for abusing that Considence which they had repos'd in him.

'Tis Pity, methinks, but those in this Country, in whom as much Considence has been placed, with greater Power, had as much Resolution for reasoning on Inexpediences: But — in Spite of the Tyrant-passions and Custom, we are said to be free Agents, and some had rather live Great, than die so.

It is not my Intention, however, to delineate a perfect Man, though Repentance, in some Sense, comes b 2 next

next to Infalibility; but yet, as his shining Qualifications were not so well remembered as his Failings, it may be justly said, to those for whom he sacrificed his Interest, as the Prussian Officer did of his King; in a Country not more famed for Politeness than Wisdom, when some were treating the Loss of a Victory of his, with more Wit than good Breeding, says he, "The "King of Prussia is but a Man; "but you have not fuch another." And therefore to rescue Mr. Stephens's Name is but an Act of Justice due to his Memory; tho' the throwing together the Facts comprised in the following Sheets may likewise be of Use to the Orphans his Descendants, as it may hereaster assist them in Defence of their innocent

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nocent Poverty, when attacked by insolent Riches.

Not being skilled in Chronology myself, or believing you so distemper'd with Family pride, as to derive Virtue from Pedigree, I have gone no farther back, than the Time which the Papers I found will warrant; for, notwithstanding the late Mr. Greene of the Heralds Office could demonstrate by their Arms, that they were a Family in Cornwall, long before they came into Hampshire; yet it being foreign both to my Business and Design, to adjust that important Affair, I must beg leave to refer those to Heraldry, whose Curiosity may lead them either to know more, or to dispute so much of their Antiquity.

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xiv DEDICATION.

These being my Motives for publishing this History, though without Order, Style, Language, or Invention to recommend it, I yet hope it will not be unintelligible nor unentertaining to you; or unacceptable to Some on account of its Bulk.

If I had thought it so well worth the Attention of the Publick as to have made a Penny of it, I should have endeavoured at it for the Sake of the distressed Infants, the poor Remnant of the Family; to whose Use the Profits should have been applied: But herein am I disappointed, being so compleatly undone, by that infernal Spirit which may ruin the Nation, that I live only whilst Creditors, not properly mine, are pleased to forbear; and therefore may

may venture to promise never more to attempt to do good in this Life, tho' I sincerely am, and shall always remain,

Your most

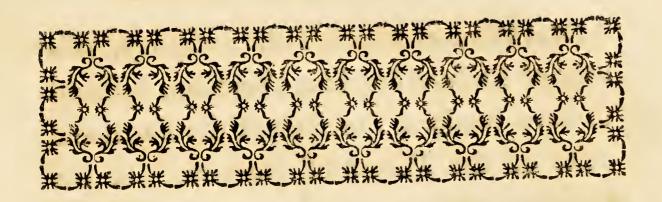
Affectionate Friend,

and Humble Servant,

The Author.

Seattle Chamber of

Wen english



THE

HISTORY

OF

WILLIAM STEPHENS, Efq;

CHAP. I.

Some Account of his Predecessors, and how the Estate was got.

Year 1588; at which Time, Awdrey, Widow of Richard Stephens, Yeoman, is found to have made a Purchase of the Farm and Scite of the Manor of Barneton, in the Parish of Milton, and County of Southampton, from Edward Lewyn, of Winckton, in the Parish of Christ-Church, from whence she was stiled of Barneton. The Family, however, were long before possessed of Lands and Wealth, in the Neighbourhood of Lymington and Christ-Church, particularly of Cock-Crouch, then a confiderable Farm, near the faid Manor. And on a Marriage betwixt Richard, the Grandson of Awdrey, whom her Son Richard had by Elizabeth his Wife, Daughter of Robert Doleman of Norris, in the Parish of Whippingham, and Isle of Wight, that Farm was settled on Richard Stephens, after the Death of Joan Doleman, his Mother-in-Law, on Condition that the Father of Richard Stephens conveyed to him his Rectory and Tythes, in the Parish of Milton; together with his Lands in Barneton and several Tenements; which took Place in the Year 1633, and first

first gave the Family of Stephens a Footing in the Isle of Wight.

Richard had three more Sons by his Wife Elizabeth; William, who was enter'd of the Middle Temple, and Henry, who was brought up a Merchant. Both these Brothers arrived at some Eminence in their respective Pursuits; yet such was the Reverse of their Fortunes and Dispositions, that the one saw himself stripped of the fairest Fruits of his Industry by that Party, under which the other, in the fullest Security, and with amazing Rapidity, was laying a Foundation for very ample Possessions; for he died possessed of upwards of 1200l. per Ann. in the Forty-first Year of his Age; though he had lived in Splendor. David, the Youngest, lived with his eldest Brother Richard, and took the Charge and Management of the Estate for him.

The first Thing remarkable of William, whom we mentioned to have acquired, and left behind him such an Estate in a very few Years; and whom, in 1639, we find some Times stiled William Stephens of Doctors

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Commons; and at Others, of the Middle Temple, Esq; was his Marriage that Year with Ann, Daughter of — Redman, and Widow of Edward Herbert, of the Isle of Wight, Gentleman.

She was young, and no less remarkable for the Beauty and Comeliness of her Person, than for the rare Endowments of the Mind. She had great Eloquence, and a becoming Firmness and Resolution; as an Instance of which, we are told, that she undertook to plead her own Cause, in a Suit depending between her Brother-in-Law and her, and that with fuch Success, that she obtained a Decree for her Jointure, which was disputed. Whether the Civilian had affisted in the Recovery of it does not appear; but that he was not long in getting Possession is certain; for we find Thomas, Brother and Executor of Edward Herbert, giving Security in his Name for 1781. expressly said to be Part of her Jointure; in a few Months after, when she wrote her Name Ann Stephens.

The next Step of any Note, was that of his being elected Recorder of Newport. In 1642, the Earl of Pembrooke, then Governor, appointed him Steward and Bailiff of the Isle of Wight; and in 1644, made him Wood-ward and Verdurer of New Forest, of which the Earl was Lord Warden. In 1645, he appointed him also Receiver of the Rents of Sutton Marsh, in Lincolnshire; and Steward of his Lordship's Manors, Lands and Tenements, in Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorset, Kent, Glamorgan, and Monmouthshire. In 1646, he was appointed Deputy Steward, under his Lordship, of the Bishoprick of Winchester. In 1647, the Earl, together with Lord Herbert, nominated him one of the Commissiones to let, set, and sell, certain Estates within the Manors of Hackney and Stepney in Middlesex. In 1649, the Dean and Canons of Windsor, appointed William Stephens, of New Sarum, Esq; by them stiled, to be Steward of all their Lordships, Manors, Lands and Tenements; quam diu se bene gesserit. In 1650, he was ordered, by the Committee for removing Ob-

Obstructions, to report the Matter of Complaint of Alexander Cleeve, of Blunsden Place, touching Goods and Chattels taken from him by the Earl of Effex, in marching his Army towards Newbury. In 1651, the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of Oxford, in full Convocation, created William Stephens, one of the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty, a Doctor of Civil Law, by Diploma. And the Commissioners of forfeited Estates appointed him Steward of several Manors. It does not appear, when he was first elected, nor for what Place; though in a Grant of Administration of his Brother's Goods, by the Keepers of the Liberty of England, in the same Year, he was stiled a Member of Parliament of the Common-wealth; probably for Newport, the chief Place of his Residence.

Such was the Number and Order of the feveral honourable and lucrative Posts he enjoyed, which it may easily be conceived, furnished him with the Means and Opportunities of making many advantageous Purchases,

chases, and amassing the Estate before-mentioned in so short a Space of Time.

His first Purchase, among many of less considerable Notice, was of many Messuages in Bristol for 3000l. His next, the Manor of Chippin-Ongar in Essex. Then that of the Manse of the Deanry of Salisbury, purchased of the Trustees for abolishing Deans and Chapters. A Moiety of the 30th Part of the Privileges of the Company of Mineral and Battery-works; and a Moiety of the 24th of the Mines-royal. Several Lands, also, to the Value of 3000l. were purchased by him in the Name of his Brother Richard, of Maids Moreton, in the County of Bucks, Esq; He purchased, also, the Rectory and Parsonage of Hackney, with the Manor of Grumbolds, paying, on a Life of 31 Years, 1001. per Ann. Had a Grant of the Bailiwick of the Manors of Stebun-heath and Hackney, in Middlesex; and of all Fines, Profits, &c. known by the Name of Greenwax, in those Manors. He agreed for the Scite and Demesne-lands of the Manor of Woodperry, in Oxfordshire, entered into a Bond Bond of 1200l. to perform Covenants, and paid 600l. Fine to New College for the same. He purchased the Manor of Barton for 2000l. and the Manor of Bowcombe for 8000l. both in the Isle of Wight. Besides these, he had a large Interest in other considerable Places in Hampshire, as well as elsewhere, too many to be inserted.

These Particulars sufficiently shew what were the Principles and Politics of the Man; and though it is not pretended to justify his Dealing in the Spoils of the Church, of which he professed himself a Member, and in whose Communion he died; and which indicates fuch a Compliance with the Times, as shews, he had not a just Abhorrence of a Cause, which was founded in Rebellion, and involved his Country in fo many Miferies and Calamities; yet, considered in private Life, whether as the Husband, Father, Friend, or Neighbour, he was possessed of as many amiable Qualities as most Men. He was moderate in his Principles, in great Esteem with truly good and pious Men, upright in the Administration of Justice, very

constant and devout himself in private and public Worship; keeping up a strict Order in his Family, with a regular Observance among them, and Discharge of all religious Duties; his Advice and Assistance were never with-held from the Distressed, and on the Poor he bestowed with a liberal Hand.

Notwithstanding his Connections with, and Adherence to a Party, whose Measures were subversive of the Religion and Government of their Country, and which will therefore fix an indelible Blot upon his Meamory; he seems to have had the Virtue, as neither to have betrayed his Trust, nor to have gone such Lengths to procure Favour, as the usurped and factious Authority, under which he acted, would have warranted; or he might unquestionably have saved his Brother from that Ruin,* which his Loyalty to R

* His Case, as stated and called by himself, in 1652.

A Short NARRATIVE of the Sufferings of HENRY STEPHENS, Merchant, by the Common-Wealth and Parliament of England.

The Parliament's Shipps having taken some French Vessels, in Satisfaction thereof, in 1649, the French did seize, deteyne, and keep the said Henry Stephens's Goods, his Prince in a good Measure drew on him; for we find, that the Sentiments and Affections of a Brother, notwithstanding the Opposition of their Principles, were not extinguished in his Breast, as he contributed largely to his Support out of his Pocket.

Within a Year after the Usurper's Decease died the Doctor, not without leaving his E-state involved to the Amount of 4809l. and upwards. Among other Particulars of the Demands thereon was the Sum of 1009l. due to William Urry, formerly his Servant, and afterwards stiled of the Middle Temple, Gen-

Goods, Wares and Merchandize, to the Value of 8000l. at one Time; and did afterwards seize upon his Person and Papers also; for the Discharge whereof he expended to the Value of 1500l. but could procure

only his own Liberty and Enlargement.

In the same Year, he purchased, and laded on board a Shipp of his own in Ireland, a Quantity of Salt-Hides, to the Value of 2100l. which the Lords-Justices and Council for Ireland took for their Use, and gave him a Bill for 1400l. to be paid in England at Sight; 500l. of which, after tedious Sollicitations, were charged upon the Credit of Deans and Chapters-Lands, which he sold for 300l. and the remaining 900l. being settled upon such Delinquents Estates, as could be discovered at Haberdasher's-Hall, he was forced to take 250l. and there remained 400l. in the Treasurer's Hands at Haberdasher's-Hall.

In 1651, he had a Shipp named the Young Whale, laden

Gentleman; who, we may presume, in his Master's Time, as we find after it, did not forego any Opportunity of fishing in troubled Water, and taking all Advantages of the Times and Persons he had to do with. The Widow, however, managed her Affairs with so much Prudence and Occonomy, as to leave among her younger Children, not less than 4250l. together with an admirable Character.

The Doctor had several Children, of whom William, the eldest Son, succeeded to the Estate, incumbered as we have men-

laden with Wines, which being forced from her Mooring, by a Shipp that ran foul of her in the Downes, and losing her Anchors, was necessitated to run into Lec-Road for Sase-guard of Goods and Men, was there violently seized on by 20 Souldiers, and being carried into the Port of London, was seized by Officers of the Customs, and informed against in the Exchequer; where the Informants would neither let go the Ship and Cargo upon Bail, nor proceed to Tryal, but forced the said Henry Stephens to pay to the Common-wealth and Informants 3500l. contrary to Law, Equity and Conscience.

The said Henry Stephens, and Part-owners, had a Shipp, named the Ann and Joyce, of 300 Tons and 32 Pieces of Ordnance, taken into the Parliament's Service; for which there is due from the Treasurer of the Navy 7000l. and upwards; great Part whereof belongs to the said Henry Stephens.

tioned, and, being disappointed in Love, hastily married Elizabeth, Daughter of Henry Hillary, a Grasier, in Dorsetshire. Portion, which was but 3000l. the Education and Life of a Gentleman, and the Employments he filled, were far from being the most likely Methods of making, or retrieving a Fortune. His first Employment, which ferved to divert his Application from domestic Concerns, was that of a Captain's Commission in the Militia, under Lord Culpeper, Governor of the Isle of Wight. After which, he was successively promoted to the several Ranks of Major, Lieut. Colonel, and Colonel, by the subsequent Governor, Sir Rob. Holmes. And what in no Ways mended the Matter, in the Year 1684, the merry Monarch, King Charles must knight him; but, to give Sir William his Due, this Honour chagrined him; for he not only complained of the Expence he had been already at in ferving the Public, the Militia being then kept up in that Country with Spirit; but declared, that he Jid not expect that an empty Title, with its expensive Appendages, was to have been made

made the Reward of his Services. Sir Robert Holmes, to make him some Amends, proposed afterwards, in 1689, to make him his Deputy; which, it is said, Sir William immediately rejected, thanking the Governor for a Feather in his Cap for one Day, which might adorn that of another the next; and therefore refused any Thing less than the King's Commission; which was afterwards granted him, and he was the first Lieutenant-Governor of that Island. But this Promotion, tho' a lucrative one, being of but a short Duration, was far from extricating him from his Difficulties; for now his whole Time was taken up betwixt his new Employment, added to the foregoing, and parliamentary Attendance, where he served for the Borough of Newport. And when the Time came for a Change, neither his. Punctuality or Integrity was of any Avail; for Lord Cutts, being appointed Governor, upon the Death of Sir Robert Holmes, writes to the Lieutenant Governor, "That he has chosen a new One, not out of any Unkindness to him, whom he assures of cc his

because it requires One that shall have no other Business to mind, but reside always at the Castle, and give himself wholly up to it." It must be observed, that Sir William's House being within a Mile of the Castle, he spent more Time there than his Successor.

From long Experience and Persuasion of the Folly of engaging in public Affairs, to the Neglect and Diffipation of one's private Fortune, he admonished his eldest Son, but a little before his Death, " never to have any Thing to do with the Public, if he could avoid it with Honour." He did not long survive this Period; for he died suddenly at Newport, in 1697, leaving behind him two Sons, William and Richard, and a Daughter, whose incomparable Virtues are, to this Day, remembered by some of Sherbourne, in Dorsetshire; where she married Mr. Hodges, an honest Gentleman of small Estate. She died at Bath of the Small-pox, in the Thirty-fixth Year of her Age, without Issue. Richard was brought

up a Physician, and was no less eminent for his Learning and medical Knowledge, than remarkable for his great Indolence, being, what is called, an absent Man.

Some Instances which occurred, particularly two, in his younger Life, will serve to mark the Man; the One, his Answer to the Provost of Queen's, who was jobing him, when he had set his Chambers on Fire. "Fear not, Sir, I'll build the College again:" The Other, when of All Souls, having so entirely forgot a public Exercise he was to hold, or the Day of it, that he had not begun to write his Notes, till put in Mind, by feeing the Students go by his Window to the Theatre, yet came off with Applause. And such Cures did he perform in his Practice, as gained him the greatest Reputation; particularly in the Case of a Gentleman to whom he was sent for, from Winchester, where he lived, to Oxford; where the Patient had lain seventeen Days in an Inflammation and Obstruction in his Bowels, and without Relief, till he prescribed, contrary to the Opinion of other emienent Physicians. Yield-

Yielding to the Opinion of the most able in Hampshire, he sent his own Child to Bristol, who died within a Week, as he foretold. A Lady, unfortunate in Abortions, and who had no Hopes of Life, under the Care of a great Knight in London, was recovered by him, and had a Son, whom the Father used to call the Doctor's Boy, and who is, at this Day, a lusty Baronet, and Father of Children. 'Tis said, that he never had but two Patients, who died in the Small-pox, tho' he had great Practice; in which his Neglect was the only Complaint against him; except. that of a Lady in the Vapours, for ordering of no Medicines; with whom he expostulated, till, it may be faid, he both recovered, and lost his Patient; for asking in a Manner, not fuiting her Delicacy, "What " is it to you, if I cure you with white "Bread and Butter?" She so resented it, as to forbid his Coming again; happily keeping up her Spirits, without the Help of Drugs, or the Doctor; who did not greatly promote the Sale of them; for he had a Sort of Dislike to three Professions, viz. Apothethecaries, Attornies, and Bankers. As he advanced in Years, he grew unweildy, being so corpulent, as to load the Chariot he rode in, and regardless of Business, as to lose very great Opportunities again in London. His Time was so entirely devoted to Books and Amusements, that None of his great and good Friends, of whom he had many, could prevail with him to give due Attendance, where they recommended him; not even Sir James Worsely, who loved him as a Brother. At last, he carried the same Temper to Dublin, where his old Friend Dr. Cobb, Bishop of Kildare, took him in Hand to as little Purpose; for he died in 1735, leaving two Daughters, with small Fortunes; who, without his Failings, inherit his Virtues; among which, true Piety and extreme good Nature should not be forgot.

The Mother of this Gentleman was not short of any of the Family in good Sense; for Instance, though she was Lady Stephens, yet being a right West-country Housewise, it was with Difficulty, that her Husband could prevail on her to visit London, of which

Place she had entertained not the most favourable Opinion; but, when she came thither, and saw how lively People appeared, and how industriously they were employed, she confessed herself agreeably disappointed, saying, "every Body here is doing Some-"thing," of which the Louts did not want the Hearing, when she returned into the Country.



CHAP. II.

The Birth and Education of William Stephens, Esq; with his Conduct, until the Estate was spent.

WILLIAM STEPHENS, Esq; who spent what was left of the Estate by his Father Sir William, who had let too much of it slip through his Fingers, was born at Bowcombe, in the Isle of Wight, on Jan. 28, 1671, O. S. He was in Esteem with People of Fashion, whilst a Boy, for his

his manly Sense and Carriage, and with the lower Sort of People, for his Affability and good Nature; even the Servant, who was called to receive his Commands, thinking himself favoured and happy in the Execution of them. It is faid, that an old Housekeeper, who had the Management of a very large Dairy, left him a Butter-tub, full of Money, at her Death; which, howfoever, perhaps not strictly true, may serve, among many other Instances, to shew, that the Foundation of his Ruin was laid by Others, long before he came of Age; when he scarce knew what it was to be contradicted neither.

His Education was fuch as fuited his Genius, which abhorred any Thing unmanly; therefore, not delighting much in Accomplishments of a softer Nature, such as Dancing, Drawing, &c. it was employed in the Classics, Fencing, Riding, and other man-He went through Winchester ly Exercises. School (where he was Commoner) with fuch Facility as to have had Abundance of Time to himself; and a numerous Acquain-

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tance he made there, which lasted for Life. From Winchester, he was sent to King's Gollege in Cambridge; not from any Dislike to Oxford, but that he might not be too near William, the Son of Dr. Pittis, his Cousin and School-fellow, who was of New College, and of more Wit and Learning, than Difcretion. This Precaution, however prudent in Sir William, was fo far unnecessary, as we find Pittis regardless of the Value, or Want of Money, that the Geniuses of the two young Gentlemen were totally diffimilar; for One set no Bounds to his Extravagance, whilst the Other was so remarkable an Oeconomist, as to keep a regular Account, from the Time of his being a Schoolboy, of his Receipts and Disbursements; and if he ever exceeded, some plausible Reason appeared to have been given for it. But his Kinsman was often engaged in Scrapes of one Kind or other; and seems to have been as little scrupulous how he got into Debt, as he appears to have been unconcerned, when he could fend, in a Vein of Humour and Pleasantry, to his Friend to

come and see him in his handsome Lodgings; and at the same Time tell him, he is at a Loss how to pay for them. What he wrote,* whilst

* Landlady, feeing Nothing come, Takes out a Writ, and fees a Bum, And, to make Good the Pay of Quarters, Calls in th' Assistance of the Tartars; And at my Chamber-door, confound her! Places a four and twenty Pounder. I, the mean Time, poor, fuddling Sinner! Suspected no such Treach'ry in her; But about Nine, in Morning waking, With Head for last Night's Claret aching, To Chamber-door, my Worship wagging, Thrust back the Bolt, and call'd for Flaggin. But see, what damn'd Missortunes sollow, My thus debasing noble Swallow! Descend to Sin, so low as small Beer! A Curse, for Time to come, on all Beer! For 'stead of honest Wench, call'd Christian, In steps, a heathenish Philistian, And cries your servant Master P---s, Against your Worship, Sir, this Writ is. Then you may judge, I stood like Fool here, And wanted no small Beer for cooler. However I, to make the best Of what is bad, cry'd, whose Arrest? For that's a Question poor Defendant, Makes to the Bailiff his Attendant: Sir, it's at the Suit of one you know well, Your Landlady, old Mrs. Powell. A trifling Action, cries the Varlet, For one, like you, in Stockings scarlet, Who makes so noble an Appearance; I could have wish'd she'd had Forbearance; But four and twenty Pound, said Bum, Sir; An inconsiderable Sum, Sir: When whilst in Custody, to a Club, of which he was a Member, will serve as a Specimen of his Humour.

Nothing can be offered in Excuse for this Sort of Behaviour; though his Vivacity was so great, that it was with Difficulty he could lay aside his Gaiety, even upon grave Subjects; as appears upon another Occasion;*

yet

When in comes B——, of House the Mistress, And thus addresses Man in Distress, Sir, it is in vain to stand here prating, Pay for your Lodging and for Eating; Money's the Thing I want, for Words They signify no more than T——s, Your Mother's rich, your Brother preaches, In Lombard-street † among the Riches, They'll lay down what's your Debt, or bail you; Sure such Relations will not fail you!

I, who knew better, said no more, But dress'd myself, and d——d the W——Put nicest Periwig and Phizon, And off I march'd with Bum to Prison.

+ Dr. Isham, Rector of Bishopsgate, and Lecturer of Al-hollows, in Lombard-street, married his Sister.

* The Battle-royal, between Dr. Sh, Dr. S and Dr. Berryt.

T.

A Dean and Prebendary
Had once a new Fagary,
And were at doubtful Strife, Sir,
Who led the better Life, Sir,
And was the better Man.

yet he was neither used to treat Things sacred with Levity, nor prostitute his Pen, which was sometimes employed against such as did so.

But to return: — Mr. Stephens, after he left the University, was entered of the Temple, though several Avocations taking him off from the Study of the Law, he was never called to the Bar. And it happened, in the

II.

The Dean, he said, that truly
Since Bluff was so unruly,
He'd prove it to his Face, Sir,
That he had the most Grace, Sir,
And so the Fight began.

When Preb—reply'd like Thunder,
And roar'd out, 'twas no Wonder;
For Gods the Dean had three, Sir,
And more by two than He, Sir,
For he had got but One.
IV.

Now while these Two were raging,
And in Disputes engaging,
The Master of the Charter
Said, both had caught a Tartar;
For that Gods there were None,

And all the Books of Moses,
Were nothing but Supposes,
And he deserv'd Rebuke, Sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, Sir;
Twas Nothing but a Sham.

And

25th Year of his Age, that he was introduced into the Company of a Daughter of Sir Richard Newdigate, at the House of a Friend, where she was making a Visit in the Isle of Wight. The Consequence of this was, that he was no less taken with the striking Beauty, and extraordinary Endowments of the young Lady, than she with the Gracefulness of his Person and Conversation. It cannot be imagined, that his Father could be averse to an Alliance which promised so much Happiness on his Son's Side; and where Fortune and Family were both superior to his. The Difficulty lay with her

VI.

And as for Father Adam,
With Mistress Eve his Madam,
And what the Serpent spoke, Sir,
Was Nothing but a Joke, Sir,
And well-invented Flam.

Thus, in this Battle Royal;
As None would take Denial,
The Dame for which they strove, Sir,
Could neither of them love, Sir,
For All had giv'n Offence.
VIII.

She therefore flily waiting,

Left all three Fools a-prating,

And being in a Fright, Sir,

Religion took her Flight, Sir,

And ne'er was heard of fince.

Father, who, when the Proposal was made, objected to the Smallness of his Patrimony; but as this was the only Objection, his perforal Merit was of more Consideration with the Lady, whose Father would not force her Inclinations. This fair, accomplished Lady, besides the Fortune brought with her, did great Honour to the Family she married into.

Within a little more than a Year after they were married, his Father died, when the Importunities of his Acquaintance, and of the Town of Newport, prevailed on him to take a Seat in Parliament. He complied, however with such Reluctance that, with Tears in his Eyes, he faid to his Wife, at his Return from the Election, "I have " done ill in disobeying my Father's Injunc-"tion," notwithstanding he had neither bought, nor solicited a Vote. But his Wife, ever ready to administer Comfort, and willing to extenuate, asked him, " if he could " avoid it with Honour, [his Father's Words] " when the People were unanimous in their " Choice of him, and had earnestly befought "him to represent them in Parliament?" Though in her Heart she wished it had been otherwise.

With his Seat in Parliament, and Command in that well-trained Militia under Lord Cutts, in the Isle of Wight, his Time was pretty much employed without Profit to himself; for as, with invincible Modesty, and no great Fondness for Pre-eminence, or other Ambition but to deserve well, he could ask for Nothing; so when it was thought fit that any Post of Honour should be conferr'd on him, it was receiv'd with a deep Sense of his Duty and Obligation in the Discharge of it, which ever out-went his Views of Gain. Being thus engaged, he bid adieu to all rural Recreations, except for Relaxation only; and was so devoted to the Service of his Country, as to give up all his Time and Study to the Prosecution of it. With this Employment, the Expence of House-keeping, together with a young Family, increased upon him; he moreover kept an Equipage in Honour to his Lady; though it is certainly more than she ever desired.

His House, being near Cowes, became the Rendezvous for the Nobility and Gentry, resorting to the Isle of Wight; and though he was as plain in his Furniture as in his own Apparel; yet fuch were the Outgoings for so small an Estate, as would amaze any One, who is unacquainted with his Exactness in Oeconomy. This will more fully appear, by confidering his Attendance in Parliament, and on Elections, then triennial, the Militia, Affizes and Seffions as Justice of Peace; which Office he executed with such Satisfaction and Uprightness, as brought him great Business, but no Profits; besides which, he was the Oracle at the Petty Sessions, and Arbitrator and Peace-maker among his Neighbours; and was literally the public Servant of his Country.

When the Borough of Newport was at his Devotion, he consented, in so genteel a Manner, to their Election of Lord Cutts, of whom he had not so high an Opinion in every other Respect, as in that of a Soldier, that his Lordship acknowledged the Civili-

ty soon after;* and was so sensible of the Fitness of his Talents either to command or obey, that Nothing was done without him; notwithstanding Few were more expert in Bu-

* S I R, London, April 11th, 1702.

Have heard, from more Hands than One, of your kind Expressions towards me; which I shall acknowledge upon all Occasions, as long as I live; and shall be glad of the first Opportunity to demonstrate what a grateful Sense I have of your Friendship. Pray write to me sometimes, and believe me, with Truth,

Sir, your faithful, Humble Servant,

CUTTS.

To William Stephens, Esq;

Who writes in Answer,

My Lord,

SO very kind a Letter, as you were pleased to honour me with, gives me too much Cause to doubt, that your Treatment among us has been very coarse. Your Lordship cannot but know, that I was ever a Stranger to those little Designs which were hatched, no Matter where, to make the Country unhappy by your Lordship's Displeasure. I will not presume to enter into a Detail of those Things, which no Doubt but you have seen to the Bottom of, therefore shall trouble your Lordship no farther, than to beg to be thought, as in Duty, your most obedient, so, out of a just Respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful
Humble Servant,

Will. Stephens.

Business than his Lordship; whose Letters, all wrote in his own Hand, were both concise and correct. But the faithful and unwearied Services of Mr. Stephens were paid in that Sort of Ware that costs little; as there appears Nothing more than Professions, in which his Lordship might have been fincere in writing; "That he had an established Friendship for him; that he should " be glad to see an Occasion of doing him " real Service; &c. &c." Though, as he never did him a good Office, it may be prefumed, his Sight was no better than common. The Lieutenant Governor, for whom Sir William gave Way to make Room for, understood the Art and Use of Adulation* too;

* Dear Sir,

St. James's.

IT took me up all the Way from Kensington, to attend my Lord's Encomiums upon your Letter, in Answer to his upon the Settlement of the Militia; than which Nothing could be more grateful to me; and I wish greater Things depended upon so good and just an Opinion.

I am to thank you for your last Letter, and assure you, that I intend my last Minutes in England, shall be in the Isle of Wight; and particularly at Buen Retire, twhich shall always retain in me a grateful Remembrance

† Mr. Stephens's House, so called by Col. Dudley.

too; though a Gentleman of solid Sense, and good Nature, as well as Wit and Humour.

When Party-strife ran high, Mr. Stephens naturally trode in the Steps of his Father; who had no great Opinion of that Principle, or Delusion, to which the Subversion of Government has been, as the wounded Constitution is still, deeply indebted; but he never had that Dislike to Men, who might differ with him in Opinion, that some mighty Tories had, who have been fince metamorphos'd into staunch Whigs. And the Gentlemen of the Isle of Wight professing the same Principle, great Harmony subsisted among them for a long Time; tho' not uninterrupted by false Brethren and Intruders. Of the latter was One, who so well underflood

brance of my kind Reception and Support far from Home.

I am, Sir,
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant,

J. Dudley.

To William Stephens, Esq; at Barton, Isle of Wight.

stood what he was about, and was so much a Man of Business, that, for good Services done, he was many Years Lieutenant Governor there. Which sat very ill upon the Stomachs of Some, who neither understood what they were doing, or knew themselves. But his good Nature, which was accompanied with an open Behaviour, though his Sentiments were not the most refin'd, recommended him to Mr. Stephens, who always preferr'd Men of that Disposition, to those of a close Temper, be his Party what it would. And these two could part Friends after such a Dialogue * as does not happen every

* WESTMINSTER-HALL, 1706.

Col. Morgan. Well, Mr. Stephens! Shepherd begins to play his Tricks with us; for notwithstanding his Assurances to Sir Tristram Dillington Yesterday, that he would not oppose him, now he tells him, if his Friends have a Mind to stand by him, he cannot desert them; but by G—d, I'll lay 50l. he has not four Votes.

Mr. Stephens. I believe Mr. Shepherd will hardly find Interest enough to carry it; and unless any other Gentleman of the Country stands, without Doubt, Sir

Tristram is sure of it.

M. Any other Gentleman! suppose they do, what? I don't believe Colonel Leigh intends it; and if Sir William Oglander should, I am sure he cannot pretend to an Interest equal with us.

S.

every Day, for which Reason Mr. Stephens took it down in Writing.

But notwithstanding the Colonel must be allowed to have had his good Qualities; yet his Office, to disturb the Peace of a Country, was not the most desirable. And as his Measures were not the most laudable; so his Conquest cannot be sufficiently lamented, as it laid a Corporation so despicably low, that

S. I can't tell that; for you know Sir William is well acquainted, and I dare fay, has a great many Friends in the Corporation.

M. And I think we have more, or else, 'twould be hard: I am sure of 10 at first Thought. There's all the Men of Places you know must Vote, or else by

G-d, they shall out.

S. Well, that is fairly declared!

M. Why now let's reckon; there's Matthews, there's Fr. Serle, there's the two Bowlers (for, by G—d, the old One shall engage his Son, and I believe he'll take Care how he disobliges me now) there's Hayles, and all his Gang that he can command, I know who they are, and, God d—mn him, if he does not bring 'em all in, he shall move. Then there's Byles, there's Tho. Serle, there's Ned Trattle, and — what's his Name, — that broke 'tother Day? All them I am sure of; and I believe Keblewhite too; then Cheeke, you'll allow, I can't be mistaken in.

S. Nay, according to this Computation, you have a Force sufficient to carry it against all Mankind. But do you really think to make use of this Way, and let those that don't come in voluntarily know what you

intend?

Country for their Representative, a Footman came with an Order to send a Stranger, whom they never saw, for a Member; not one of them daring to groul, or shew his Teeth this Day; in such Awe are they deservedly kept by those who hated the Family of Morgans for so doing. Their Interest could not prevail against Mr. Stephens immediately; because he had come in with

M. Do I? Yes, marry do I; and there's the Post-Master too, he shall know what he must trust to; I believe there's a Letter gone to him already. And Shergold too; by G—d, I'll lay you 50l. he will be-stir himself in it for us; he'll not think the Castle a Thing sit to be hazarded. I had forgot Woodford too.

S. Now, Sir, to tell you plainly my Mind; if this, that you propose, be effectual, I don't see why you may not make two Members at any Time, as well as one now; and at this Rate, whoever stands at New-

port, must ask your Leave.

M. Z—ds, do you think they shall shuffle and trick? I'll have none of their Trimming, by G—d.

S. Whether I may serve again, I can't tell; but

this is one Way of declaring against me.

M. Why so? Does that follow now? I can tell you, they shall think it worth their while to have some Regard to me. Would not you, or any one, do the same as I say?

A great Deal more ensued, too many Things said to be recollected, & Quæ nunc prescribere longum est.

W. S.

the unpolluted Voice of a People, not able to hold out for ever against such a Bombardment; but the Seeds of Dissention being sown, the Fruits * were seen in due Time; tho' the Colonel himself levelled Nothing at him personally, and they continued always in the same Sort of Friendship.

In

* Gentlemen,

THE late scandalous Treatment I have met with from Mr. Daniel Townay, an Officer of the Customs at Cowes, puts me under a Necessity of doing myself common Justice. He takes upon him to vilify me in an uncommon Manner, and not many Days fince, in public Company, where my Name happened to be mentioned, said, that he knew me well enough; the Duke of Bolton would take Care of, and do my Business; for I was trying to subvert the Government. In no wife conscious of any Slackness in my Endeavours to my utmost, to make my Loyalty evident, much less of harbouring so much as an ill Thought of the Government; and as much as I assure myself of his Grace the Duke of Bolton's Favour, which I would by no Means forfeit, by any Disrespect to him in Particular, or public Misbehaviour; so I have not the least Doubt but you will do me that Justice, as not to let me be insulted and become a By-word among the Beasts of the People.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most humble Servant,

W.S.

Barton, Aug. 15, 1709.

To the Hon. the Commissioners of the Customs.

In 1709, died his Father-in-Law, Sir Richard Newdigate, with whom he was a great Favourite, and by him left Executor of a Will, in which the Lawyers found such Room for Litigation, that, had it not been for his Prudence, the Estate, which was very little hurt, would have been greatly injured, if not entirely ruined; and he ever remained in Friendship with the Family, who have since requited that good Turn.

At the End of about twelve Years Toil, or more, for his Comfort, the Lord Treasurer told him, in 1712, that "he had him " in his Pocket," and in some Months after that, "he was appointed a Commissioner of the "Vietualling;" of which he wrote Word to the Corporation of Newport, who thereupon re-elected him. But this Office was the Occasion of bringing his Family to Town; which, though it did not increase, yet neither did it lessen his Expence; and it being of no long Continuance, he got little by his Place; notwithstanding it does not appear that he was quarted upon, it being faid, that Commissioners in those Days received their full E 2

full Salaries. Besides, he was not properly qualified for the Office; for, ignorant of Perquisites and Trade, without the right Knowledge of Figures, and Portsmouth being his Branch, he was active in settling some Accounts of Beer delivered for the Use of the Navy, in which were some Mistakes to the Amount of 20,000l. and upwards, as some of the Brewers confessed, besides what more were concealed by those concerned. And with the Assistance of Mr. Hanway, then Agent Victualler and others,* so tight

Dear Sir, Dock, Jan. 9, 1712.

YOU can never more oblige, than by entertaining me with our worthy Friend's Letters, of which I shall only say, that they cannot be too long. Were I a fine Lady, and he passionately in Love, it should be long e'er he came to Enjoyment, while he continued to charm me that Way. I am glad to hear that he has confirmed what you have heard me talk of a thousand Times. They are on a pretty good Scent. None of these foul Practices could ever have been but by Connivance of Agents, &c.

I observe that our Friend, who I hope to see at the Head of that Board, for he will save the Government, in this Port, more than Ten Thousand Pounds a Year, I say he is mistaken as to the Price of the Beer; for that is 41. per Ton; and he don't seem to perceive a further Cheat of 55, the Ton for the Cost.

Cheat of 5s. per Ton for the Cask. Adieu,

Yours, W. Smith.

To ____ in Portsmouth.

a Hand was kept upon Traders who had dealt largely in the Retail Way, as to make him not very popular, where they have fared better ever fince his Dismission, which happened soon after the Queen's Death. However, not before he was honoured with a Visit from the first Lord of the Admiralty, to acquaint him, that he might continue in his Place; but upon signifying some Dislike to the Conditions, he was left out of the Commission.

And now Colonel Morgan's Arguments carried so much Weight, that in the Year 1714, Mr. Stephens was polled against at Newport for the first Time, and opposed by those to whom he had been kind;* not be-

cause

* S I R, Soueth Hampton, 9ber 16th.

I Am this far homward from Hackwood, but Mr. Urry got thether before me, riding all Night. My Lord spake very honestly, and seemed to be trobelled, that he did not no my Intensions sowner, haveing sorgott that I had spoken to him. Sir, I heartily thank you for your good Intensions in this Affair, and shall always be ecknollidged by

Sir, your hombell Sarvant,

J. R.

For Cornal William Stephens, a Member in Parlyment, att Westmoster.

cause he wanted them, but because they had been in Want of what is named not.* But it must not be concluded, that his Constituents were all alike; for some of the Corporation kept their Integrity many Years after this happened; and it was not without Struggle at last, that some among them parted with their Representative in Exchange for a Member; there being Gentlemen of Principle as well as Wealth in Town, as Major Leigh and Mr. Read, the last of whom was as poor as any Alderman there, yet he kept his Fingers clean; and in his Letters to Mr. Stephens, so late as 1721, when he was grown old, he humorously ridicules their Squabbles about raising Money to pay their drunken Debts.

Though

Cornall Stephens,

* S I R,

Retorne you my harty Thanks for your kind Affiflanse you have given towards my Sons Affaiers, and I doe affuer you, thatt whenever itt is in my Power too do any thing that may be of Saruis to you or yours, I shall always be verry redy and willing to sarue you, who am

Sir,

Your most harty huble Sarvantt,

March 26, 1712.

J. R.

Though before it came to a Poll in 1714, fome of the Corporation were greatly embarrassed and perfectly at a Loss on whom else to fix their Choice; with which he thought it best to acquaint General Webb, who, in a Letter some Time before, desired the Favour of him "to use his Interest with "the Mayor and Corporation of Newport" to secure his Election." Accordingly Mr. Stephens dispatched a trusty Servant with a Letter,* to which the General returned

a

SIR, Barton, Dec. 18th, 1714.

I Did myself the Honour of writing by the Post, how I sound the People's Inclinations at Newport, and, to represent the Whole truly and faithfully, I chuse to

fend a Servant on Purpose.

It is now universally agreed, that Mr. Graggs is to stand for One. They are all well assured (by whom I can't tell) that you do not intend to stand yourself. It is as certainly known, that Colonel Morgan, or some other Person is to appear as a Third; and at his going away 'tother Day for London, he dropt some Words, importing, that when he came down again, he would bring one with him which should answer their Purpose.

I have been daily visited by my Friends, who show such an uncommon Concern for my Election, as is not to be expressed; and upon telling Noses make it plain, that the Gentleman you recommend will be thrown out, which I most heartily wish may not be; and you'll believe that such a Misadventure would be almost as much Cause

a friendly Answer,* which discovered the Author's Sentiments at such Time, when it may be presumed, the Messenger was detained by him only till his Election in Town

was

Cause of some base Rejoicings here, as if they deseated me. Were the Cause your own, the Votes would be for you; but they have, a great many of them, declared, that rather than have two Whigs put upon them, they will have never an one, and begin to talk of a Fourth.

This real Truth I lay before you with all imaginable Regard, as when I last waited upon you, Sir, you wished me Success in so kind a Manner, that I can never forget it. My Service is not likely to be acceptable much longer. I have wonder'd that I have not been dismissed e're now. And my Country is so desirous to give me an Opportunity of shewing my Zeal for our established Constitution, I should be to blame to decline it. Nothing, therefore, gives me Uneasiness, but the Thoughts of my Election's interfering with your Interest, which I would gladly promote; if you will be pleased to let me have a Line or two of your Thoughts, it would be Pleasure to me to be capable of doing you Service.

I am, Sir, &c.

Will. Stephens.

To General Webb.

* Behold the Answer.

I Have kept your Man in Town till this Day, in hopes to have fent you a satisfactory Answer to yours. I proposed, and was in Hopes to have agreed with them to compromize the Election for Newport, in chusing you and one that I should recommend; but I find

was secured. But the other might have replied, in the Stile of his Excellency, "That
his Majesty had been so good and gracious
as to continue him Commissioner likewise," though he did not ask it.

In the Tumult of the succeeding Year, he scarce knew how to divide himself betwixt two violent Parties; though he associated with those, who seemed to bid fairest for preserving the Constitution. And ha-

F ting

find Colonel Morgan has more Credit with the great People than I have, and affures them, it will be an easy Matter to bring in two Whigs at that Corporation. It was proposed to me, that if Colonel Holmes would consent, that Colonel Morgan should come in at Yarmouth, they would agree, that you should at Newport: This Proposal I did not encourage, and told them, I was consident Colonel Holmes would not comply with it. In short, I find they are resolved to venture it Tout of Tout.

It is with a great Deal of Concern that I tell you, I shall be obliged, I believe, to act in Conjunction with others, against one of the Men in the World I have the greatest Friendship for, who is yourself: On the other Hand, it would be base and ungrateful in me, when his Majesty has been so good and gracious as to continue me Governor, to turn that Interest which he has given me against his Ministry. My Service to Col. Holmes.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

J. Webb.

To William Stephens, Esq;

ting Extremities, he could not reconcile himself to the Fury of those who were for proceeding against the Lord Treasurer and the Queen's Cabinet Council, for putting an End to an expensive War which we had carried on for the Advantage of the Dutch, and their Friends, till it became as much a Trade as Brewing. For he was not under the highest Obligations to his Lordship; who, had he been more attached to those as disinterested as Mr. Stephens, might have been better served than he was, and perhaps not have gone to the Tower as he did. And from an Opinion, that the Measures of those at that Time in Power, were tending to sap the Foundation of Liberty, under the specious Pretence of preserving it, he thought it so unsafe to trust a secret Enemy, that he kept to that Side, which, with all their Errors, appear'd to him most likely to preserve both our Religion and Liberty; though his Coldness, with regard to the Succession, was much greater, than any Prejudice he had conceived against the House of Hanover.

However, Solicitations were not wanting to bring him to a right Way of thinking: Lord Cadogan, and Others, being fent to him for that Purpose, his Lordship, in particular, frankly told him how it was in Town, where they knew all about it, whilft in the Country they were ignorant of the Affair; and Abundance more, with which the Pupil was very little edify'd; though he was always upon good Terms with his Preceptor; who passing him soon after in the Court of Requests, where, in earnest Difcourse with Colonel Holmes, his Lordship faluted them unheeded; which appearing as a wilful Neglect, it was remembered with so much Concern, that he said, elsewhere, he did not expect any Thing so rude from Mr. Stephens.

But he became now of little Consequence to the Majority of the Corporation at Newport, who had been some Years under the Tuition of Colonel Morgan; and not forgotten by others his Friends, so long even as they thought only, he could serve a F 2 Turn,

Turn,* it was his Fate to be their Dupe elsewhere. They were pretty unanimous in their Choice of him at Newtown; and the good Neighbourhood of the Gentlemen, for such they were in that Corporation, not being extinguished, several of them dined one Day at his House, as they used to do at each others in Turn. But Mention being made

Norfolk-street, March 21, 1721.

* Dear Sir,

I Am glad to hear the Borough of Newport hath made an Offer of chusing my Friend Sir Redmond Everard. His Character is so well known, that he does not want any Recommendation of mine.† But I must do him the Justice to say, they could not have pitched upon a Gentleman of more Honour and Integrity; nor one more like their late Representative. After this, I need not desire you to give him your Countenance and best Assistance. I know you take Pleasure in serving honest Men; and in this Case you will have the Satisfaction of serving the Public, at the same Time, that you do an Act of Friendship.

I am, with the utmost Affection and Respect, Dear Sir,

> Your most faithful, Humble Servant,

> > Will. Shippen.

To William Stephens, Esq; at Barton.

SIR,

† His Recommendation went about the same Time, in two very small Sheets of Paper, mark'd and number'd, each 250%.

made of Colonel Boreman, fays Capt. Jack-Son, who had been a Commander of good Note in the Navy, and was a brave Tory, "Why, this Boreman, you talk so much of, " is a stinking Whig." Says Mr. Stephens, very unluckily, though without Design to offend, "Have a Care what you fay; for "there is no Body greater than him with "your Neighbour;" meaning Col. Holmes, who was not far from the other at Table, where these Tory Friends were regaling themselves. How innocently soever this was meant, it was retorted with some Asperity; "And you are great with the Morgans." In short, both lost their Tempers; and,

* S I R, Bidsden, July 3, 1722.

N. John Whittmore, is a Candidate for a Fellow-ship at All Souls College, in Oxford, and you will oblige me very much if you will influence ‡ your Son in his Favour. He was very serviceable in the Shropshire Election, and is a very honest Gentleman of that Country, who you will likewise oblige, as well as

Sir, your most humble Servant,

J. Webb.

To William Stephens, Esq; at Barton.

‡ A modest Request after dropping him in so courtly a Manner in 1714. See the General's Letter, Fol. 40.

and, not without Altercation, they parted in fuch Anger, as broke off all Communication betwixt the two Families, intimate till then; though not before Mr. Stephens was told, before the Company, "It was I that brought you into Parliament."

It appears, that Mr. Stephens was more intimate with Boreman, who had been Godfather to one of his Children, than with the Morgans, of whom he never asked so great a Favour. But their Interest treading upon the Heels of the Holmes's, they were above all others obnoxious to them; and what did not extenuate the Crime of Opposition, a Servant of the Lieutenant Governor's had a House accidentally, some say otherwise, over against a genteel One which the other Gentleman had built, and lived in, which was disagreeable enough at that Time. Mr. Stephens solicited Colonel Holmes to bring him into Parliament, as implied, it could have been with no other felfish View. than making Use of his Privilege, to settle his own Affairs, after having let an Opportunity

tunity slip,* whilst he was attending those of his Constituents; for, if any of them, knowing the Frailties of Mankind, had a Suspicion of his making an ill Use of the Con-

* Considering the Uncertainty of my Life, how little a while it may please God to continue me here, how much incumbered the Estate is, what little Hopes I have of retrieving it by ordinary Means; and, therefore, how afflicting the Thoughts are of leaving my Family under Perplexities and Difficulties; and having now a reasonable Prospect of providing for them, I think myself bound in Duty and Conscience, to make the following Proposal to my dear Wise and eldest Son.

That the Farm and Manor of Bowcomb be fold, which I have Reason to expect will yield such a Price, that I shall be enabled to pay all my Debts, and settle as

follows, viz.

Eight Thousand Pounds, and the Estate of Barton, in Trustees, for my Wise after my Decease, during her Life, and after her Death, to her eldest Son, &c.

Six Thousand Pounds likewise, for the Fortunes of my fix younger Children, after my Decease: Nevertheless, I would have it in my Power to take from one and add to another, if any of them should prove undutiful; and, if either of them die, the Portion of such to be divided among the surviving. And if either of them marry with my Consent, or require their Portion to carry on any Trade or Business, it should be in my Power to direct the Payment thereof. And such Child, whose Fortune is unpaid, during my Life, shall be entitled to it after my Decease, at the Age of One and Twenty.

One Hundred Pounds a Year to be paid, out of the Interest which will arise from the 80001. to my eldest Son, which, with his Fellowship at All Souls, would en-

Confidence which they had reposed in him, the Event proved it groundless; as, in a lost Cause, he had spent the last of his Estate, when he took Leave, not only of the Parliament, but of Parliamentering, as he did upon the Death of the late King in 1727;

not

able him to live reputably, and follow his Business* chearfully.

Fifty Pounds a Year to my Wife, which I desire her

to accept of as Pocket-money.

And what farther Interest or Profit shall arise out of the 8000l. during my Life, I must have the Use and Disposal of, as well as the whole Interest and Profit of the 6000l. or of so much as shall then remain, for the Support of my Family, and the Education of my younger Children; as also the Surplus after the Sale of the Estate, and the several Sums before-mentioned are thus disposed of; which I should endeavour so to improve, together with the Rest of the Estate, as well to increase my eldest Son's, asto add to my other Children's Fortunes, as their Behaviour may deserve.

Consider, if this take Effect, how advantageous it would be to the Family, and that instead of the Anxiety which I have so long lived in, all would be calm and easy within; the promoting their Good would be a constant Delight; and, in Spite of all such, who would be glad to see me fall, I should hope to live contentedly, and serve my God with a quiet Mind, whom I pray to

direct ____

August 5, 1720.

Will. Stephens.

Though this was agreed to, yet, through the Dilatoriness of his Agent, and the Stocks falling, it came to Nothing. From whence we may learn, like his Grandsather, to serve ourselves first, and Country after.

^{*} Barrister at Law.

not without Reason to believe, as it was said by Sir Robert (a wiser) Worsely, little of whose Money was so spent, That Party was only a Contrivance to serve private Interest.



CHAP. III.

Was abandon'd by the Tories, and received by Whigs, without regard to Party.

She had been unguarded against Danger, in playing upon the Square, among Men of Honour, so was he ignorant that Self was seldom so little prevalent, among those of all Denominations, as with himself, till roused from his Stupor, by Letters from several Tories saluting him much in the same Stile of some from a very intimate one.* But the Game was at an End;

G his

* Dear Sir,

April 6th, 1725.

I Received your Letter, and am glad to find you in Hopes, relating to your own Quiet. Your Friend Mr. Popham and Glem. Urry, promises me to come to my House the 17th, where we shall remember you in our

his All was gone; and, being of Use no longer, if Mr. Tarrant the Sheriff, who happened to be a Whig, had no more Bowels than his Tory Acquaintance, he would have been torn to Pieces by his Friends; who might

our Mirth. Provided you do not sell the Estate immediately, you will bring in your Son to join with you, which I take Nothing but justice and reasonable. Your Compliance herein will very much oblige

Your most faithful Friend and Servant,

R. Jackson.

Dear Sir, Woodside, the 15th, 1725.

I Have the Favour of your Letter in answer to what I writ you about the Bond. Mr. Hall of Clifford's-Inn assures me, upon the Faith of a Christian, he never received it. (by the Bye he is a Whig) I wish you with all my Heart good Success out of these Assairs; for your Friends grow very impatient, and if I judge right, yourself very uneasy. And a Morsel with Content is better than Mr. Walpole's Riches, and your quiet Conscience will carry you with Peace to the Grave. My Island Friends are not yet come, when they do, we will remember your good Health, and am

Dear Sir,

Your most affect. Friend,

And humble Servant,

R. Jackson.

Dear

might have acted more for the Benefit of his Family, and perhaps for their own Honour, had they employed fuch an Officer seven Years sooner.

In this deplorable Situation was he, when a Consultation was held at Warnford, in Hampshire; where, after five and twenty Years Experience of parliamentary Friendship, he said to his eldest Son, the Lawyer, and to an old Acquaintance who wished him well, that his Case was like that of one who had the Pox;* that is, he did not

G 2 know

Dear Sir,

Have the Favour of yours, wherein you acquaint me, your Brother and you have exekuted an other Bond, in which you have done well. I wish you with all my Hart out of all your Troubles, that the Remainder of your Life, which I wish may be long, with Plenty and Quiett, being

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful

Humble Servant

R. Jackson.

The 10th June, 1725, drinking your Health.

* A Disease, that, in his Time a young Man would flink in at a Back-door, through a Passage, after it was dark, for the Cure of.

know whom to tell it to. The Truth is, he had not made a Friend, who could find a Remedy, in his Case, more than recover any of that which he had so freely parted with. And to make bad worse, this old Acquaintance, in his Dotage, upon a Question arifing whether his whole Estate would pay his Debts, advised him to abscond, whilst his Son fold what he had; which might not have been amiss, as the Blood-hounds were out, had he contrived to make the most of it who gave the Advice, and who had once understood Buying and Selling; for the Others, ignorant of the Maxim, there is no Friendship in Trade, thought themselves happy in falling into the Hands of another Friend; who, as a Purchaser that better understood the Value of Money, bought as cheap as he could; and they had the Mortification to hear he should say, that he had purchased the finest Manor in that Country for 2000l. under Value. But it would break all Measures of Patience, even at this Distance of Time, to reflect on such Conduct; fince that Gentleman would not have greatly

exceeded had he faid 3000/. which would have paid all Debts, about which was a Clamour, and fuch Exclamations as, "Who " would have thought Mr. Stephens would have done so?" It would have saved him from perpetual Banishment; and his Family from the Distress in which they lived ever after. It is true, however childishly sold, the Estate was fairly bought and paid for; and the Purchaser had good Nature enough to allow the poor Man's Wife 201. per Ann. as long as she lived; besides which, he did several good Offices for some of the younger Children; of which they would not have stood in Need, had their worldly Wisdom been equal to that of his, with whom, for fuch his praise-worthy Benevolence, it is to be hoped the Estate will prosper the better in his Hands.

Sensible of his Errors too late, he lay hid some Months from the Persecution of his Quondam Friends, at Longworth, in OxfordShire, in so disconsolate a Way, as would have brought on him all the Terrors of Guilt, how innocently soever he fell into them, had his

his Thoughts never foar'd above all sublunary Enjoyments; so great was his Sense of Shame, such his Compunction! as appears from what he wrote his Son; * who had the Comfort of being Witness to the Mockery of his Tory Friends that were only drinking his Health; whilst Whigs more grateful and generous, brought his Father out of Darkness, and made him again useful to Mankind; after some Months Leisure, to reslect on his Neighbour's Observation; That Party was only a Contrivance to serve private Interest.

The Person who distinguished himself above all others, was Mr. Meure, whom Mr.

Stephens

* Dear Son, 30 May, 1728. VEsterday Evening I found an Opportunity of sending mine of the 28th, by which appears the Load of Infamy in its full Latitude, which I must bear as I can! All is done towards a full and ample Discovery of my most hidden Grievances, and with inexpressible Horrour, I daily lament, when with Tears and Groans I acknowledge, my manifold Transgressions, before that great God who knows the Secrets of all Hearts; and who, by these heavy Asslictions I now undergo, I hope, will so teach me the Way to a better State, that I shall find Rest to my Soul at last; and I know of no farther Business I have in this World, but to endeavour to provide for the next. Yours.

To William Stephens, junior, Esq; in the Inner-Temple,

Stephens had once got out of bad Hands in a very expensive Law-suit; + besides which, he was, in some Degree, the Means of reconciling the Newdigate Family to him, into which he had married, not to the Liking of every one, though not against the Confent of the Father; for, having, about that Time, the Care of an Academy, only in the Illness of his own Father, he was represented to them as a School-master, and was therefore very justly thought beneath the Birth and Fortune of the Lady; though he kept a genteel Equipage, a splendid Table, the best Company, and loved her tenderly till her Death; which happened in about two Years after they came together; before which, his good Sense and polite Behaviour had

+ Dear Brother,

Wednesday 23, 1721.

THANKS to your good Offices, I hope at last to get out of the Hands of the worst of Men, and will not fail to meet you at Searle's Cossee-house, over Lincoln's-Inn Gate; the Concern I am in for the Trouble I have given you, is not to be expressed. You are born to do good; I shall ever have a grateful Sense of your Friendship.

I am affectionately, Entirely yours,

To William Stephens, Esq;

A. Meure.

had so recommended him, that it was thought the great Merit and exquisite Beauty of the Lady were as well bestowed there, as they would have been upon a Sage of the Law,* not quite so well polished; for his Pretensions, among others, having been set forth, he was cast in a Court of Females; because he had not some Qualities, of which Mr. Meure was possessed, and had discovered such, as the other had not.

The Newdigates having been mentioned more than once in the Course of this History, and the Behaviour of Mr. Stephens's Tory Acquaintance lamented; that they may not be blended, or that Family mistaken to have had the least Share in his Missfortunes, it must be observed, that on the Contrary, Sir Roger, being a Minor, and very young, when they were reduced to Poverty, which happened immediately after the Death of his Father, his Mother, the present Lady Dowager, contributed very liberally towards the Support of her Sister Stephens and Daughters, as an Example to others;

Fortune paid both on her Marriage and after, to the Amount of 7000l. in the whole. Besides which, Sir Roger, and his Lady, took to his House one of the Daughters, a helples Widow, entertained her at their Table, treated her in all Respects as a Companion, as long as she lived, and took such Care of the Children, that they are well provided for.

Upon Mr. Meure's hearing of his Friend's Distress in 1728, he went immediately from his House near Sobo, in Quest of the Son, with whom he had but little Acquaintance; and, missing of him in the Temple, where he had Chambers, he followed and found him in Westminster-Hall; from whence he did not depart without expressing himself, as well in the genteelest, as the kindest Manner upon the Occasion; asking Leave to wait on him at a more leisure Time, in order to consult for the Relief of his Brother, as he never failed to call him; whose Distress affected him to that Degree, that he

could not rest * without something done for him. But finding it extremely difficult to provide for a Man in such miserable Circumstances, that all Attempts here had failed, and being in the Direction of the York-Buildings Company, he bethought himself of an Employment for him in Scotland; which was no sooner proposed to the Court of Assistants, with his hearty Recommendation, than agreed to. And Mr. Meure, a Whig, unasked, wrote a Letter to the Purpose,

* Dear Cousin,

22 Aug. 1728.

No near Relation can feel more Anxiety of Mind than I do, or conceive more Concern than my-felf after what you told me. Pray affure both my Brother and Sister, how fincerely I share in their Distress. I had the Missortune to lose half my Estate in the Year 1720; yet I will do all I can for their Sake; and amy very fincerely

Sir, your most humble Servant,

And affectionate Coufin,

Abr. Meure:

To William Stephens, Esq; Junior.

pose;* whilst the Son was soliciting those, in vain, who regarded not his Merit; which looked as if their Party was a Contrivance only to serve private Interest.

CHAP.

* Dear Cousin,

7 Sept. 1728.

VEsterday I received a Letter from my Brother, and find he is quite overcome with his Misfortunes; but our Business is to comfort him, to raise his Courage, and take the most prudent and practicable Meafures to extricate him out of the Difficulties he labours under. Nothing shall be wanting in me more than if he were my own Brother. I beg you will let him know, that he will be heartily welcome at my House; and should think he might set out early in the Morning. and be there at Night. If I could know when, I would be sure to be in the Way to receive him. You will also, Dear Cozen, meet with a hearty welcome there; that we may confult together, and find out proper Expedients for the Necessity of his Affairs, and those of his Family. Pray assure my Brother, that I am far from being less ready to serve him in his Adverfity, but rather more desirous to do him, at this Time, all the Services I am capable of.

I am, Dear Cozen,

Your most humble Servant,

And affectionate Cozen,

Abr. Meure.

To William Stephens, Esq; Junior.

CHAP. IV.

His Passage to, Employment in, and Return from Scotland.

Directors, where Colonel Horsey, prefiding as Governor, though bred a Whig, and born a Presbyterian, he found him a Man after his own Heart, in all Things but Politicks, which Mr. Stephens had done with; and besides, they Both had more good Breeding and Sense, than to dislike each other upon that Account.

Nor did the Governor think the Company a little happy, in meeting with such a Man to send into the Highlands; as no Encouragement, which they could give, would tempt the Gentleman whom he was to succeed, or any other independent Man, to sit down there, who was so sit for a publick Employment as Mr. Stephens; notwithstanding his being so little regarded by the Tories, insensible of the Value of him, or acting not upon the same Principle.

Being appointed Agent for the Company's Affairs in the North of Scotland, and equipped accordingly, he was fent away, on Board a little, wretched Coaster, in the Depth of a hard Winter, for Edinburgh, where he arrived in February 1729, after a tedious and very hazardous Passage of 24 Days: There his Letters of Recommendation introduced him to the best Company; and the Anti-Courtiers finding him out, he did not refrain from conversing with them in Turn; without giving Umbrage to his Masters, who, for the most Part, were Zealots for, or dependent on the Court. After a short Stay, he proceeded as before, for the North again; and the Rigour of the Weather not being abated, he went thro' much more Danger, as well as Fatigue, before he arrived at Findborn; where, landing on the 28th of March 1729, he found some of the Company's Ships loading, and entered at once upon his Business, and the Day following he acquainted them by Letter, with what he had done.

From

From hence he travelled along the Coast to Garmouth, another of the Company's Ports, and meeting with Mr. Strachey at Fockubers, a Village in that Neigbourhood, had the first Pleasure of being acquainted with him; which was no small Advantage; for that Gentleman, who for a-while had the Charge of the York-Buildings Affairs there, and being universally esteemed, introduced him into the best Company again in the North; and giving the New-comer his Cue too, he quickly discovered which Way a great many Thousands had been squandered away.

In April 1729, he arrived at Culnakyle, where was the Company's chief Concern in those Parts, it being near the Woods; which, in the Highland Language, the Name signifies. It lies upon the Banks of the Spey, about 25 Miles from Garmouth, where that River disembogues, and near the Centre of the Royalty of the Laird of Grant, in Strath [the Vale] of Spey, extending upwards of 40 Miles from East to West, and 15 or 20 from North to South, most of which is within

within his Estate. This was formerly the Family-seat, and built in the Manner of that Country, on the Sides of a Quadrangle, called there a Close, all upon a Floor, with a Turf, cut square, and called Fale, for the Walls; and so covered with another Sort, cut flat, and called Divet, as to be warm and durable. But fince the Death of the present Sir Ludowick's Grandfather, (the Family residing at Castle Grant, a large Stone House about four Miles distant) this old One was let to the York-Buildings Company; who, putting Pieces of Glass to the little Window-Lights, which had Boards for keeping out the Weather before, gave great Offence to some of the Neighbours, who thought the English might be content to live as their Chief had done; where, like other Highland Houses, the best Apartment, still retaining the Name of the Ladies Room, with its curved Timbers and no Cieling to hide the Roof, as General Wade observed, resembled a Ship Keel uppermost.

In order to give some Idea of Mr. Stephens's Employment, it is fit to give also some Account of the Company's Undertakings; but their Rife, Progress and Fall, being well known, it will suffice, to speak only of what came under his Cognizance or Inspection. Having large Concerns in the North before the Year 1727, it was then represented to them, how beneficial a Trade might be carried on in the Fir-Timber of Sir James (the Laird) of Grant's Woods, in Strath Spey, which were about 24 Miles in Circumference, and faid to contain Masts fufficient for the whole Navy of Great-Britain; and being on the Banks of the Spey, with what Ease they might be floated down that River, carried again in Rafts round to Findborn, and there shipt in a good Harbour, that of Garmouth being unsafe. In Consequence of which, the Company agreed with the Laird for 60,000 Trees standing, for which they were to pay 7000l. Besides this, there were large and expensive Iron-works undertaken, both Forges and Furnaces, at Culnakyle and elsewhere. Upon the whole, were

were employed about 200 Workmen, exclusive of Officers, such as Surveyor of the Woods, Supervisor of the Works upon the Coast, Iron-masters, Store-keepers, Clerks, Overseers, &c. There were likewise 150 English Draught-horses sent, with Carriages and other Implements, from London, for hauling the Masts out of the Woods, and doing what else was requisite in the carrying on of these great Affairs.

He had not been long arrived, before he found, that the building of a Harbour had been likewise projected, because that of Findborn, having a Bar before it, was not altogether commodious, and the Navigation to it, with Masts in a Rast, from Garmouth, was very hazardous. Again, the Number of Obstructions in the River were found to be equal to that of such Masts in the Woods, and Saw-Mills were then erecting to convert them into Deal-boards; besides which, the Projectors were to seek for the proper Ore, of which the Iron was to be made: All which put him under some Difficulty in his

Correspondence with the Company; for though there was a Foundation for carrying on both Timber and Iron-works to Advantage, after they had begun to cut up the mistaken Masts; yet, their Credit being tender, it behoved him to be cautious of what he wrote, concerning wild Schemes, and that Oeconomy which had wasted so much Money; though he could put on a good Face in the Country, and silence that Impertinence which slows from Ignorance.

He was but coldly received by those whom he was sent to controul; which they so ill could bear, that the inferior Officers were taught to question the Validity of his Orders, until the Approbation of the Others was first had, though he had a Power of Dismission: So little jealous, however, he was of his Honour, and backward in the Exercise of a discretionary Power, that not a Man of them lost his Place, notwithstanding some had been pointed out in London; and among them One, who, though he had behaved worse than the Rest, yet he interceded for him unknown, when the Board had resolved.

on his Discharge. By thus overcoming Evil with Good, he lived in Friendship with them, whilst they stood in proper Awe, and did their Duty.

He was not at a Loss neither how to behave to those in the Country with whom he had Dealings, from the highest to the lowest; as an Instance of the First, the Duke of Gordon, who was lately dead, having had some Concern with the great Men, who had like to have let him and the Company into a Secret, with the Harbour before-mentioned, besides other fine Things; and that in particular being dropt, after his Son, who was a Minor, had been at an Expence, in Consequence of his Father's Agreement with the Company; the Dutchess, a Lady of a pretty high Spirit, tho' of celebrated Sense, was resolved to give them no Quarter; and accordingly wrote a very angry Letter,* which

YOUR most obliging Letter came safe to Hand, but till now had no Occasion* to return an Answer. Mr. Wycherley and I were much surprized at two Letters I had last Post from London, viz. Lord Lion's and Colonel Horsey's. Lord Lion very plainly and honestly

^{*} In Scotland means Opportunity.

which he answered with great Respect; charging her Grace, at the same Time, with condemning them unheard. † And acquainting

nessly says, the Company are not to build a Harbour at any other Place than Golochi, but are not fully resolved to build one any where. Colonel Horsey's Letter is somewhat more reserved, and it seems they would impose longer on us; but—Trissing is at an End. I wish we had not been the Fools, upon such Faith, to have bought Land at two hundred Years Purchase.—My Son wants no Land in Scotland, especially at that Rate.

This of Course puts an End of any Thing surther to be expected from this Family; and Braco, being a great and potent Man, may affist the Company with such Services as they may want. I own they might have chosen some other Persons to have bubbled; but regret this poor Country is so ill stated, as to have every good and laudable Undertaking mar'd by the base Contrivances of its own Natives. ‡

As to yourself, shall with Pleasure do you any Ser-

vice in my own, or Son's Power.

Your faithful Friend

H. Gordon.

To William Stephens, Esq; at Culnakyle.

Had the Honour of your Grace's Letter, Yesterday in the Evening, wherein I find such Testimony of your condescending Goodness towards me, as I am incapable of expressing a due Sense of; much less to know wherein I merit it. At the same Time the Resentment which you are pleased to shew towards the

‡ A Neighbour was suspected to be aiming at a Harbour elsewhere, but all was dropt. York Buildings Company, (whose Servant I am) must unavoidably give real Cause of Affliction, whilst I find myself render'd incapable of serving them, with that Pleasure which I had conceived under your Grace's

Patronage.

It would be impertinent in me, Madam, to enter into any Argument, on the Reasons which have induced your Grace to take so sharp a Resolution; not knowing what has passed between your honourable Family and the Company; but if you had thought sit to indulge them yet so far, as to have admitted the Return of the Post, to see what they would have offered to your Consideration, I should have hoped for a good Issue; and I will not yet despair, but your Clemency will be such, as to allow them a Hearing, whenever they shall address your Grace on this unhappy Occasion; the Event of which I dare not presume to judge of; but am willing to hope the best.

In the mean Time as Mr. Ranken has fignified to me your Commands, That none of the Company's Servants presume to lay any Timber upon the Ground belonging to your Family, I have sent Orders, that None for the Future be laid there; but if your Grace will admit of those Trees already landed, to remain a very little while, till I know where to dispose of them, 'twill be a Mark that your former good Will towards the Company is not utterly extinct, and beyond Hopes

of Recovery.

I affure your Grace, without Compliment, that the concluding Paragraph of your very obliging Letter, in which you are pleased to give me such Assurances of the Friendship of your Family, is sufficient to animate me with a Spirit always prompting to deserve as far as I am capable the Continuance of so great a Good to

Madam,

May it please your Grace, Your most obliged, and most Obedient, humble Servant, Will. Stephens.

To her Grace the Dutchess of Gordon.

ing the Company with it, they left it to

him

And he wrote to the Company accordingly. I Gentlemen, Culnakyle, 7th of June, 1729. HE Dutches of Gordon is so far from relenting, that she was pleased this Week to forbid your Servants landing any Timber, on the Ground belonging to that Family; and even required them to remove what was already landed; as Mr. Ranken advised me by Letter, Express from Fochubers, with one inclosed to me from the Dutchess, complaisant enough; but conceived otherwise in such opprobrious Terms, with Regard to the Honour of the Company, that I cannot prevail with myself in sending it to you, as I once intended; fince what I wrote you, and fent enclosed in my last, is sufficient to shew the Rage her Grace is transported with.

I wrote her Grace back as full as I could in Compliment, and after telling her the Misfortune I found myself under, in being rendered incapable of serving you under her Patronage, whilst her Resentment ran fo high, I told her that my Orders were gone for Mr. Ranken to lay no more Timber upon their Ground; but that, if she would allow what was already landed to continue there till I knew how to dispose of it, it would be a Mark that her good Will towards the Company was not quite extinct. What Step to take, I am utterly at a Lois to know, without your Advice

and Direction.

Her Grace hints, that Braco, being a great and potent Man, may affift the Company with such Services as they may want; but that I look on as a Sarcasm; for hehad actually given the Company to understand, that they must expect no Favour from him; whereupon, I once thought we were happy in the Place under the Gordon Family; but now we are fawn betwixt two.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your, &c.

W. S.

To the Hon. the Governor and Court of Assistants of the York-Buildings Company.

him, who managed with that Address, that they were restored to Favour; and their Servant was never afterwards rebuked; except for not going often enough to Gordon-Castle, where he always met with a hearty Welcome,

In Answer to which they wrote.

London, 21st of June, 1729. $\parallel S I R,$ W E refer you to what is contained in our last Let-ter, relating to the Dutchess of Gordon's Behaviour towards the Company. We are well affured in our own Minds, there have been some Enemies interposing their ill Offices, by false Suggestions, which has occasioned this Alteration. Had you seen her Grace's Letters to the Governor, it would satisfy you that some under-hand Arts and Tricks have been used. to bring Matters to this Pass. But fince it is so, and while this Disposition continues in the Dutchess, we need not advise you to manage with Prudence, and use your best Endeavours to find out the Truth. In the mean Time, we shall leave every Thing to your Ma nagement, as you find best to do for the Company's Service, and judge most proper.

We are

Your most humble Servants,

Samuel Horsey, Governor.

William Corbett. Francis Townley.

To William Stephens, Esq; at Culnakyle.

come, after their Affairs were grown bad,* both in Scotland and London, and to the very last of his being in the Country.

And as for those of a lower Degree, who were not always quite so open in their Behaviour, his Description of the deep Designs

*SIR;

A T the Time I had the Favour of your last obliging Letter, I was indisposed, which hinder'd me from

making you then a Return.

As I have all imaginable Reason to be convinc'd of the Friendship you express for me and my Family, so I assure you I am very sensible of your Merit, and so far as I have Power, none will be more ready than I shall be on every Occasion to do you Service. Could any Thing give me a good Opinion of the York-Buildings Affairs, it would be their being in this Country under so deserving a Director as you are. None will be more welcome where I have a Concern, and I am,

Your most oblig'd,

Gordon-Castle, Jan. 26th. Humble Servant,
H. Gordon.

† "But now we are come to Work on the other Side of the Stream, up starts Knockando, and says, we shall not meddle there; for turning the Course of Water on the opposite Side of the River will deprive him of his Salmon Fishery; which I understand he values at 33 s. 4 d. Sterling, and fancy I shall bring him to make Professions how great a Friend he is to the Company; as it may be done partly with a Design that some Court must be paid him, in order to grant a Favor, or with a View of a Compliment, that is, something more than Words."

figns which he discovered in One, may serve further to shew his Discernment, and that he did not despise small Things; and such an Invitation as he had from a Person of Fortune * may shew too, how much he was respected, at the same Time, and more especially as he was an honest, open-hearted

K Gen-

* Honoured Sir,

THE good Account I have of your Merits and Affection to this Country, make me long for the Pleasure of your Acquaintance. I have been oftener than once necessarily diverted from my Inclinations to wait on you; and if your Goodness would gratify my Fondness, to allow me a Visit here, the Samen* would be most agreeable to M'Alpin, who would value himself not a little upon the Occasion.

Sir, Please accept of the small Compliment fent by the Bearer, as the little Testimony can at present be given of my Inclination. And till I have the Honour of your Acquaintance, I subscribe, with great Re-

spect and Esteem,

Honoured Sir,

Your most

Tullochgreeve, Feb. 27th.

Obedient humble Servant,

P. Grant, alias M'Alpint.

To William Stephens, Esq; at Culnakyle.

* A Mark of Respect. † A Present of a Buck.

[†] He pretended to have descended from an antient King of Scotland of that Name.

Gentleman who gave it; though blunt, and so singular in some Respects, that he might crack a Joke, or say what came uppermost without Offence. In a Visit to General Wade, his Compliments were pretty extraordinary at entering the Room, among a good Deal of Company, in his Highland Dress, when he accosted him thus.

- " R. Good Day to you, Generaal.
 - " G. I am glad to see you, Rothimurcus.
 - " R. What News the Day, Generaal?
 - "G. None but what you see in the Papers.
 - "R. No News of King James the Aighth now-a-days?"

which ended in the General's turning short, smiling and talking to some Body else.

Mr. Stephens, having rectified, as he could, what he thought amis in the Company's Affairs under his Inspection, the Governor came to visit them, and so approved of what he had done, as to enlarge his Power, and six him a Salary of 2001. per An. for himself and Clerk; and Plenty of good and proper Ore being found at last, there was

a fair Prospect of Success in both Wood and Iron-works, tho' the Mast-trade had failed; nor were the Thanks of the Company wanting for his Service, so long as they did well for themselves.

But this was only a Glare of Sun-shine once more in his Life; his Brother Meure was dead, and the Foundation of the Company's Ruin, in which these Things had a very small Share, was laid in Change-Alley, before they were projected; nor was the Mifchief done by the Gentlemen at his Time in the Direction; who carried them on in the best Manner they could; but by their Predecessors, in jobbing the Stock of the Company; who, foon after Mr. Stephens came, begun to make fuch slender Remittances of Money, that it was with great Difficulty he could support their Credit in the Country; notwithstanding the Plank and Deal-board-trade was so established as to make them very confiderable Returns, and the Iron had bid fair to be much greater. But the Proprietors, instead of taking salutary Measures K 2

* * *

Measures, their Affairs being not irretrieveable, squabbled; till a Set of that Sort of Men among them, who knew how to make an Advantage of People in Trouble, brought on a Parliamentary Enquiry, and all Things into Confusion; by nestling themselves into the Direction, for which they were unsit; and out of which, they had jostled those of Worth, every Way equal to the Emergency of the Company's Affairs, which they had at Heart.

During these Transactions in London, their Works were upon the Decline, it may be imagined, in the North; tho' Mr. Stephens kept Things together with the Workmen, whilst, to the Amazement of the Country, there were two Years Arrears due to them; for which Forbes of Culloden, Colonel Grant of Ballendalloch, and others, called him the Earl of Marr, who could keep an Army together without Pay.

But not a Passage in his Life deserves Notice more than the modest Request, which his old Tory Friends had the Conscience to make make about this Time; it being only to ride 600 Miles from Culnakyle to the Isle of Wight, to serve their Turn, still once more, at an Election; for which they very generously sent him as much Money as would bear his Expences thither, and their Promise of a Protection. So he was to quit a truly honest and large Concern, in which he was so deeply engaged, to do a Piece of Service for those, who had discovered no Aversion to the Saying of; "I have this, and " will thank you for the next, Favour;" who had used him so well before; and would most certainly have left him to go back to Culnakyle; as his Son had been, about the same Time, to go to London; whom one of them put to the Blush, in a large Company, by faying, " He had a "Horse of mine that carried him to the "Election, I don't know how he got " back."

When Mr. Stephens received the Letter to ask the Journey, he almost lost his Patience; and though he forbore Resentment,

it was not without some Emotion, as may be feen by what he wrote * foon after to his Son; who having Nothing but his Father's Virtues to recommend him, was forgot by the Tories at the Election of Members, which happened at Southampton, not very long after this, and other fignal Instances of their Modesty and Gratitude; and was employed

on

* Dear Son,

Culnakyle 23 Sept. 1732.

I Imagine the Reasons I gave for not answering the Expectations of my Friends appear in so strong a Light, that you cannot but justify me, in your own Judgment. The same Principles which carried me such a Length (even to Ruin) still actuate me, and I think I shall persevere in them to the last; tho' cruel Treatment might have induced another Man to shew some Requital. As for the corrupt Brood, e'en let them enjoy the Fruits of their Labours as they please: They have been long fince lost in my Thoughts. Too many and too heavy (God knows) are the Offences I must plead guilty to, which I can never hope to atone for in this Life; or make due Recompence to those I have injured; which is more than enough for an unhappy Man to bear in Mind, and bitterly bewail to the Day of my Death.

Allow me thus to ease my Mind, oppressed at this Instant with an uncommon Weight of Grief; for Nature will prevail; and at present I must stop. - I must

conclude in hafte at last,

Your very affectionate Father,

Will. Stephens.

To William Stephens, Junior, Esq.

on the other Side, by Mr. Williams, the Town-clerk of Newport, who brought him more Briefs at the Assizes, and Cases in the Country as well as Town, than all the Tories of the County; which alter'd not his Principle, though the Lawyer's Shop is open.

In the Situation of the York-Buildings Company's Affairs before-mentioned, a Direction, confifting of a few fubtle Ones, with a weak Brother in the Chair, made short Work of it. In their first Letter to Mr. Stephens, they order'd him to be more concise in his, and not to interrupt Mr. Baylies* in any Contract be may make, or the Application of Money; which, it may be presumed, was meant as a Reward for his Treachery to those in the former Direction, who could not trust him without such a Check. But the next, the most, and last important Service they did at Culnakyle, was fending One Abell, a chosen One, to inspect their Affairs there, as also their Estates, and other Works in the North. This Gentleman being the only Man of Sense among the Court of Asfistants,

^{*} Master of the Iron-works.

fistants, and attended by Mr. Place, whom the late Directors had discarded, and was also to be provided for, (as Mr. Baylies had been, and for the same Reasons,) 'tis fit that something more than Mr. Abell's Name should go to Posterity; as it did in a Letter,* wrote about that Time, by Mr. Stephens to his Son in London.

Mr. Abell had not been long at Culnakyle, before the Workmen presented themselves in a Body, to let him know they could work no longer without Pay; when, in the Fright which he took at an Army of Highlanders, he charged Mr. Stephens with having combined with them; because he had kept them to it so long without Money, and would not engage

* "The Character of Mr. Abell is fitter for a more able Pen to undertake; for I must own, to me, he appears a persect Enigma; wherein all I could discover was, that he is a Deist, whom neither the Old or New Testament pleases, exploding the Eternity of Hell-Torments in the latter, and calling the Mosaical Institution Blasphemy, which describes God to be an angry and jealous God; but, laying aside such of his Attributes as he does not like, he allows of his Goodness and Mercy. Thus stock'd with Religion, he is ad omnia paratus, and what may not be expected from him?"

engage farther against common Honesty, to betray an innocent People, who placed a Confidence in him, for the Sake of giving a few Change-Alley-Men a little Credit, which themselves were unable to procure. However this fell heavy upon him; for though Mr. Abell was afraid to turn him out of his Office, lest the Country should rise, he left no Method untried to make him uneasy. He then desired an honourable Dismission, and received this Jesuitical Answer, "You know, Sir, whether you can ferve " the Company with Honour;" and his Accounts, which, at his own Request, had been always laid before them once a Month, undergoing a strict Scrutiny, and not an Article disputed of 8000l. and upwards disbursed, it was expected they would have been passed; but that was declined, with a Promise to "re-" port them to the Gentlemen in London, " who are Men of Honour;" and so, like himself, they turned out.

Thus was he left, and with this Insolence did he bear, when, with the injured Work-

L

men, it was in his Power to have given Mr. Abell a great deal of Trouble; but after his Escape, the Fury of the People had like to have burst on Mr. Stephens, whose House being furrounded, they charged him with having deceived them. When going forth, he answered with Intrepidity, and confessed, "They might have Reason to think so; but " as they knew how poorly he had lived, " if any of them would inspect his Ac-" counts, by which they would find, every " Servant under him had been paid prefer-" able to himself, they would entertain a " better Opinion of him;" telling them, " That Clamour was productive of Confu-" fion, which would deprive them of all " Hopes of Redress;" to which he added, "That he would not leave the Country, " without parting among them what was in " his Possession," with which they were content, though the poor Men lost by the Goods, which were fold again by them, at 25 or 30 per Cent. Discount.

But they complied the more readily, upon feeing the Company's Effects there difposed of, without any positive Assurance of
Payment from them, or Prospect of receiving Money due in the Country; that being
arrested by other Creditors, which would
have gone a great Way towards paying the
poor People; who had earned it by the
Sweat of their Brow, in manufacturing the
very Goods sold for that Money.

The Works being at a Stand before, for want of their Horses, which were sold at Auction, to pay for the Provender they had eaten, and for which they had been pawned; the next Thing he was Witness to, was the Seizure of all the Effects remaining in his Hands, even to the very Furniture of the Hut that gave him Shelter; and when he had no Prospect of any Kind in that Country, which he would have gladly got out of, he passionately utter'd these Words of the Psalmist, "Wo is me, who am constrained to dwell with Mesech and to have my Ha
"bitation among the Tents of Kedar!

The Reformers in London, having neither Heads nor Hearts to obtain Weight or Credit, the Company's Affairs grew every Day worse there likewise; until, with their Troubles in Westminster-Hall and Parliament, which were retaliated upon these Directors, for Mal-administration indeed, they fell quite to Pieces; the new Governor not continuing so long in this exalted Station, as in that, where, hearing Mr. Erle make it extremely clear, that he was too much a Fool to be guilty of some Knavery laid to his Charge; says he, "I protest I never heard Mr. Erle speak " so well in my Life."

But before there came a new Set of Managers, there being often a Change of Ministry, Mr. Baylies the favourite Agent, being caught, after about fix Months hectoring, swelling, and pilfering, he took a sudden Flight, with which Mr. Stephens acquainted * the Board, who ordered him

* Gentlemen, Culnakyle, 16th March, 1734.

A S I have never failed to acquaint you with whatever you ought to know, Mr. Baylies went hence fo early on Sunday Morning, that he was feen a good Length in his Way for London, before Sun-rifing.

When I consider, he spent Saturday Evening with me, and returned Home not till the usual Hour of Rest, without giving me the least Notice of his Intention, though he took Horse not many Hours after; I cannot help thinking Something extraordinary is couch'd under such a Secret; and when I see Mystery every Day so much abounding, 'tis impossible but some Jealousies must arise, which are sooner conceived than expressed. My Continuance may be deemed a Grievance, which he would wish to be eased of; and whenever it shall be your Pleasure to invest him with the sole Power of an Agent here, I shall be content; though no Discord has arisen betwixt us; yet neither has there ever been such a Concurrence of Sentiments, as to create any Uneasiness at two such Friends parting.

During the late Perturbations here, I still touched tenderly on that Part; being very cautious lest I should injure an innocent Man; but I am forry now that a late Instance has too plainly shewn some clandestine Practices; for the Day after Mr. Baylies went hence, Dalrachny, having private Information of a large Parcel of Iron carried secretly from the Forge, and concealed in the House of one of your Saw-Millers, went by Authority, and there he sound it hid very artfully, which he laid Hands on. They made Search again Yesterday, and sound between six and seven Tons more. How far such Night-work and Concealment may be thought criminal, you are the proper Judges.

I have such Informations frequently brought me, as would be astonishing; but, willing to think they partly arise from Prejudice, in some under Mr. Baylies, now his Back is turned, I lay them not to his Charge; tho I cannot forget them; and no doubt Enquiry will be made into all that is done here.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient
Humble Servant,
Will. Stephens.

To the Hon. the Governor and Court of Assistants of the York-Buildings Company.

Sir,

thereupon, to take the Iron-works under his Care, which was of little Use then; for whilst they were making Havock in London, there

+SIR, York-Buildings-House, March 30, 1734. Am by order of the Governor and Court of Affiftants to give you their Thanks for your open and candid Account of Mr. Baylies Behaviour, and whatever further Accounts and Informations you may receive of Mismanagements, you may depend on their meeting with due Acknowledgment from the Court, and that no Use will be made thereof to your Prejudice. [What need was there of such an Assurance?]

You are desired to take all the Company's Effects, whatsoever you can get, into your Possession, and endeavour to detect and recover all Embezzlements and

Mal-practices, which have been carried on.

Mr. Baylies had Orders to send fifty Tons of Iron to London a long Time fince, which he gave Hopes soon to effect, but is far from giving that Satisfaction, and has not answered the Expectations that were conceived of him, and it is to be feared that this will be of infinite Prejudice to the Company's Affairs.

As you can have no regular Instructions how to proceed in every Thing at present, you are desired to ma-.

nage Matters as prudently as you can.

By order of the Gov. and Court of Assistants,

I am, Sir

Your most humble Servant,

Richard Birch.

To William Stephens, Efq; at Culnakyle.

In this Answer, compared with their Letter desiring him to be more concise, they make a pretty Figure.

there was such Scrambling in the Country, that he had not been long in Possession before they were likewise seized. Soon after which he received a kind Letter from a fincere Friend, who went from London to Edinburgh to adjudicate for himself and others, which Mr. Stephens could not do, his Accounts having not been passed; and seeing that all Hopes of common Justice from the Board were at an End, had Reason to fear himself again in a lost, as he was in a deplorable, Condition. And his last Resort was to those, who, having made Seizures of all remaining, were in full Possession; and, being the only Obstacle to their quiet Enjoyment, for the Sake of which, and to get rid of the last of the York-Buildings, they difgorged as much as would decently carry him off.

Notwithstanding he had never personally engaged for Payment of any Debt, which he had contracted in Behalf of the Company, and paid his own private Debts; yet, being sensible that, as Things turned out, he had made too much Use of very great Crehad

dit which had been given him in the Country, he dreaded a People, who, exasperated at their Loss, might take their Revenge of him, for Injuries done them by others; which put him upon a Sort of Stratagem to get away in Safety after all. Being engaged in a Law-suit for the Company, and very unexpectedly defeated by a Decrete against him in an inferior Court at Elgin, he appealed to the Lords of Session; whom he might fairly say, as was given out, he was to attend at Edinburgh. But how to bring two Things to bear, so diametrically opposite, as to leave any Sort of Assurance of his Return, with a Multitude of Creditors, who looked on him as their forlorn Hope; and to assure those who wanted him gone, that it, was not intended, put him under some Difficulty; for which he thought of this Expedient, to leave with the latter the Bulk of what he had, to be sent after him; particularly his Papers, Books of Accounts, &c. excepting some of the most valuable, which he took in his Cloak-bag, which gave the others Room to expect his Return. being

being thus settled, and having some of those in Power to escort him to the Limits of Strath Spey; he took a final Leave thereof on Sunday the 19th of January, 1735; about Nine in the Morning, not without a friendly parting with those, who too much bewailed their Loss to have hurt him, as by their Tears was manifest.

Having never failed on his Part in correfponding with the Company, he acquainted them with his intended Journey to Edinburgh; where, being well received by his Acquaintance, he spent a few Weeks in Festivity, and fuch Joy as he was capable of; whilst he waited the Issue of the Law-suit, and the Company's Orders too, till he defpaired of receiving any; when he proceeded on his melancholy Journey, arriving in London, April 5, 1735. There, in Parliament, one Time more and the last, he found the Court of Assistants so much in Need of Mr. Erle's Help again, that they could not find Time to pass an Agent's Accounts; and that he must lose, as he did, very near 4001. due for Salary; by a Set of Men, fit only to rend Measures, M v 41

Measures, for which they had no Remedy; and to give the finishing Blow to a Capital of One Million, Two Hundred Thousand Pounds, whose Party was a Contrivance on-Ly to serve private Interest.



CHAP. V.

Distress'd in England, he goes a Voyage to America.

HE little being spent, which he had so luckily gotten, as he once thought, to carry him from Scotland to London, and his Family in almost as much Distress too as he had sled from, according to his own Words, he "became a Burthen to those "whom he ought to support." Therefore, unable to live in London, with their Assistance only, the next Scene of Misery was at Penrith in Cumberland; where he was again buried for some Months, unacquainted with every Body in that Neighbourhood, except Mr. Hill, a Clergyman, who having been his

his Son's Tutor at Oxford, provided the best Place he could for such a poor Man; who had not Friends that could keep him from Want, until Colonel Horsey, a Sufferer likewife in the York-Buildings, made him an Offer of going to South-Carolina, to survey a Barony * of Land, for which he had a Grant; when, the third Time in Life, Mr. Stephens thought that he had discover'd some Rays of Light; for as they esteemed each other, and the Colonel was in Expectation of going out Governor of that Province, he thought very justly, that he might rely on him; and the more readily embraced the Opportunity of transporting himself to the Plantations, from a fond Imagination of making such Improvements, as might enable him to provide, at least, for some of his younger Children; especially as good Share of the Land was offer'd him, upon which Europeans are apt to set too great a Value, before they know any Thing either of that, or the Country in which it lies.

M 2

But,

* 10,000 Acres:

But before he embarked, he had the Mortification to hear his eldest Son, who was bred to the Law, set a Resolution to change his Profession; which occasioned a melancholy parting, as, till then, Mr. Stephens had conceived some Hopes that, thro' him, the Family might still have a Being; and could therefore scarce support the Thoughts of his Retirement to a Curacy which he had undertaken in Somersetshire; whilst he was going himself, to take Resuge in the Wilds of America, at the End of eight Years Exile.

Upon his Arrival at Charles-Town, the Letters he carried were a Means of his being introduced to those of the greatest Confequence there, who behaved very courte-ously to him. And in his Way to the Land which he was sent to, upon the Banks of the River Savannah, which gives Name to that Town in Georgia, and divides the two Colonies, he had the Fortune to get acquainted with Mr. Oglethorpe; who, after the Survey was finished, had the Condescension to permit his Return to England on Board the same Ship with himself. For so great an Honour,

he could do no less than testify, to a Board of Trustees, at their Office in Dirty-Lane, That he had been in Georgia, and that some of the People did cultivate Land upon which they were settled, which removed the Doubts of some, who had questioned the Existence of the Place.

His sanguine Friend Horsey, at the same Time that he found Mr. Stephens had executed his Commission with Punctuality, found too, that he had been as much imposed upon by Projectors in American Land, as he had been by those of Scotch Masts; but being of a grateful and generous Temper, most heartily recommended his Friend Stephens, who had acquitted himself well upon every Occasion, to the Trustees for Georgia, with whom he found Favour, Mr. Oglethorpe, Mr. Martyn their Secretary, and Mr. Verlest their Accomptant, and some others in the Secret, excepted. When he was introduced to the Board, he was permitted to Sit; but not before a Motion was made for Leave; for such State did they take upon them, and so great was their Solemnity, that they appeared all

to be as serious as Mr. Coram; who, with Lord Egmont and Mr. Sloper, was not only fond of sending out Mr. Stephens, but for investing him with Power; which so alarmed the Cabal, that, to divert an Intention. of sending him out, which they could not defeat, they contrived to get him, or, more properly, to make him a Post, under the specious Title of Secretary for their Affairs in Georgia. Having so far succeeded, their next Business was to keep him down, whom they could not keep out; to effect which Mr. Oglethorpe opposed the giving Salaries for the Future to any of their Servants, except those two very useful ones before-mentioned, and their Clerks; for that Land in Georgia, increasing in Value, a Tract of it, in Extent according to the Importance of the Service, would be more advantageous; especially, if, with a Grant of it, a further Bounty was given, of a proportionable Number of Servants, with a Year's Provisions, Axes to cut down the Trees, and manufacture the Timber of very great Value, and Hoes to cultivate and plant the Land; the Produce of which

which would be worth more than any Salary they could give out of the Money granted by Parliament to fettle the Colony, by fending over People, and promoting of Cultivation. But One present, who was going for Georgia, innocently asking, Where was the Market for so much Timber, and what Produce had been raised, he was never forgiven.

This was a bitter Pill, which Mr. Stephens was forced to swallow, or fall into the Hands of a malicious Creditor, who pursued him so closely, as to point him out to an Officer, with whom he went for that Purpose; which, though it happened in a privileged Place, quickly made Terms for him, with those against whom he was unable to contend; for the Cabal, who carried all before them, had an Interest in what they were doing, and were the more affiduous in diftreffing him; which was foon done, when they too well knew he had no Choice to make, or Friend to help him; Colonel Hor-Jey being too much involved in the York-Buildings Affairs to give that Affistance his good

good Will inclined him to; whilst many of Mr. Stephens's supposed Friends, then alive, were still unmindful of him, and the Distresses into which he had brought his Family, in Considence they had meant as he did; insomuch that, a truly honourable Person, now, this Day, in eminent Station, who was almost a Stranger, and under no Sort of Obligation to any of them, was so touched with their Case, as some Time after, to write a kind Letter,* which alone would have

con-

* Dear Sir,

July 1.

Had sooner returned my Thanks for your last, but have been confined to my Bed, by a Feaver; and much shocked with the melancholy and unexpected News of the Death of my Sister. I shall go into Staffordshire to Lord——, but look upon my Plea-

fure this Summer, as at an End.

I believe you have often heard me say that Patrons are mighty apt to be engaged, and always extremely reserved on that Head. You have heard me mention, more than once, that I thought it monstrous that a Set of People, in whose Cause you and your Family have suffered so much, should not make your Interests their particular Care. This should be a favourite Point with them; but instead of that, as soon as their Turn is served, no matter at whose Expence, they can be served no longer, are very sorry, but slip their Necks out of the Collar as sast as they can. This is the harder Case, as the Cause and Foundation, of all your Missortunes, is a fatal Objection to any Recommendations among those who do not use to desert

convinced both him and his Son, who then knew to their Cost, That Party was a Contrivance only to serve Private Interest.

N CHAP.

desert their Friends so. I shall soon get a Conserence with Shippen,* when I will talk roundly to him on this Head; and if I can once make him espouse the Matter zealously, he has great Insluence upon many People: I shall likewise spirit up Sir Walter Bagot, whom I think it would well become, both as a Relation, and as he has great Interest with the same Party.

I shall likewise have an Eye at the same Time to any

other, being,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate, and

Faithful, humble Servant.

To the Rev. Doctor Stephens, at Cleve, in Somersetshire.

* See Fol. 44.

CHAP. VI.

Takes a final Leave of his native Country; departs a second Time for America; and lives in Penury sixteen Years in Georgia, where he died.

N Despair of any Thing to support him in England, and of almost any Good in this Life, he prepared for the last unhappy Scene of it, which was alotted him in Georgia: But first he accompanied his Son to take Horse in Hyde-Park; who came from his Curacy in Somersetshire, on Purpose to see for the last Time his very unhappy, but more unfortunate aged Father; who refraining till almost out of Sight, then burst into a Flood of Tears, and cried; "Oh my "Son! my Wise! my Children!—hard "is my Lot!—But—the Will of him "be done, who is infinitely more merciful "than we are miserable."

When he took Leave of the Trustees, those who meant well, being sensible that their Design of sending him was deseated, comforted themselves, however, with the Hopes

Hopes of a true Account of Things, which they never had received; and therefore that Task was laid upon him, before he embarked at Gravesend in August 1737, arriving in Georgia the November following; where the People were glad to see him come back in an Office of seeming Importance; whilst the whole Colony was in a Flame, with the Proceedings of those whom Mr. Oglethorpe had left, to carry into Execution fuch Laws and Orders, as the Cabal had procured and contrived, to ruin some, and distress the whole. Nor did Mr. Wesley contribute a little to blow the Coals, before he was drove out of the Colony, for refusing the Sacrament to a prudent young Woman, who at her Husband's Request, had refrained from going to the Nightly Meetings of his Family of Love. And Mr. Stephens's Return was the more pleafing, as he had declared against some Fundamental Errors, or worse, when there before; which gave them Hopes that, by his Means, their Grievances would be redressed. But they were not a little disappointed, when he acquainted them, that he had no Power

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over any Person, or to alter any Thing; which the Trustees were in no Disposition for neither. Then they drew up Petitions and Remonstrances, setting forth their Complaints, which they defired him to authenticate and transmit to the Trustees; to which he answered, "Gentlemen, you quite mistake my " Employment, which does not give me "Power even to do that." And, pointing to the Hut in which he was and dwelt, fays he "There is a Secretary with an Office, and there is a Secretary without an Office " - My Business is to write of Things. " as they occur; and the Trustees will do as " they think fit." Which they so well understood, as to say among themselves afterwards, that he was honest in declaring himfelf turned Informer, and lived always in good Neighbourhood with him; except for a short Time, when the People most hated the Trustees, of Course, they took a Dislike to him, and all that belonged to them; and not without Reason.

Until Mr. Oglethorpe, with his Mermedons, supported by the Trustees, had dri-

ven the People almost to Desparation, he not only managed fo, as to steer clear of the jealous Coast of the ambitious General, lest he should be dashed upon the Rocks of his Revenge; but so as to inform the Trustees, had they not been hood-winked, without keeping private Correspondence with any of them, or breaking a Neutrality with the People. And the sufficiency of his Informations, or of his answering, so far as could be expected, the End of his Appointment, is not to be questioned; as some Encomiums were made by Mr. Sloper and others, upon his Judgment and Accuracy, in such an Account of Things as convinced not him alone, that all the Complaints from Georgia, were not without Foundation; and, it being pretended by some present, that they did not know whom to trust, "Good God, says Mr. " Sloper, why don't you give this Man Pow-" er? Can you see these Abilities in him, " and employ him only as a Journalist, whilst " the People are harraffed by those unwor-

" thy of so mean an Office under him?"

The very Shadow of Liberty having fled before the General and his Troops, upon their Arrival in Georgia; where the Sufferings of the Inhabitants were the more grievous, as their Complaints to the Trustees had always recoiled upon themselves, till they were so echo'd throughout the Kingdom, that fomething, in Appearance of new Measures, was now projected. And who so fit for a Stalking-horse, as one that had gone well, if they could bring him to their Pace? And Mr. Stephens acquainting his Masters that the little Stock, which they had allowed, was exhausted in Improvements on the Land granted him, which had made but a small Return; and that if they did not affist him further, he must starve; at the End of two Years, he had accordingly about 100l. more allowed him. A Change of Ministry too, in Georgia, being contrived to amuse the Publick, a Blackfinith for a second Rate, and a Newgate-solicitor for Premiere, were at this Time removed; and their high Offices succeeded to, by an illiterate Taylor, and one Jones, who had been Night-Constable of Holbourne, or St. Giles's,

Giles's, and once belonged to a Society, for Reformation of Manners, of infamous Memory; and, that it might carry the better Face with it, Mr. Stephens was to act in Conjunction with these in the Issues of Money, andwhat else, was never understood; no, not by those who gave him his Instructions. He had the Reputation, however, of setting his Hand to fuch Orders as Mr. Jones approved of, till the People were quite tired with such a Farce; for instead of his being a Check upon iniquitous Jones, he was a stumbling Block to the other; who, by his means, can scarce be said to have done a good Thing, so long as the old carved Post remained in the Colony; for fuch was the Figure of the Man, with a puritanical Look,* and not a bad

Savannah, 20 March, 1740. MONES is the same R—— he was when you left J him, as far as he can; for he designs Good to no Man, except those of his own Stamp (Whitfield's Crew and the holy Sisters, &c.) and even they can hardly trust him: Nay, even the General himself lately got him to Frederica, and there fell heavily upon him; telling him that his infolent, haughty Behaviour, had driven People away.

I am, Your, &c. Will. Stephens.

To Mr.

bad Feature in his Face; which will admit of an Excuse for Reflections on the Person of one, whose Countenance was a very impersect Index of a much worse Heart, which he had, if Villainy proceeds from a bad one.

It being Mr. Stephens's Misfortune to appear as a principal Actor after the Institution of this new Mock-magistracy, which was looked upon as an Insult upon the People, who held them in Derision, it is necessary to give some Account of their Proceedings, the better to judge of his Behaviour. The next Step was to draw up Complaints against the Trustees, for whom the principal Inhabitants had little more Respect, than for the General, and his Vessels of Wrath; who, with the Help of his Troops had driven away many of them; but those remaining thought they had a favourable Opportunity of approaching their Sovereign with a Petition; as Hector Berenger Beaufaine, Esq; was going from Georgia to London; and they had been told, that he stood in some Degree of Relation to her late Majesty. Accordingly they committed

mitted one to his Charge, with proper Vouchers and a Testimonial, with the Solemnity of the Province Seal, &c. but they never heard of it after; not even when he return'd, within a sew Months, Collector of the Customs in Charles-Town, a Place said to be worth 4 or 500l. per An; though a Person of Substance, removed thither from Georgia, denied him his Vote, until he cleared up the Assair; at the Time he was elected a Representative of that Town, in the general Assair of the Province, where he is now one of the Honourable Council.

But before this Gentleman's Return, the People were enraged to that Degree, that they publickly exclaimed against the Trustees, then become as odious as their Magifirates were contemptible; therefore to get rid of them, if possible, they drew up a Complaint against them, with very short, tho' full Instructions; giving a Power for the Person employ'd, to apply for Redress of Grievances, as he should think sit; Application to the Trustees only excepted. This being signed by 130 or more of the principal of the pri

Freeholders, the General and his Magistrates, with about twenty other Place-men, were not wanting to furnish their Party in London with such an attested State of the Colony, and the Seal affix'd, which was now denied the others, as they knew how to make proper Use of; which had so little Effect however upon those among the Trustees who meant well, that it was put to the Vote whether they should not resign their Trust; and it being carried in the Negative, Mr. Sloper, and Mr. Coram who first projected the Colony, resigned in Form, at the same Time that others declined to act.

A Petition being presented to the House of Commons, the Honourable Edward Dig-by, Esq; and other Trustees, were Champions for their Body corporate; but their Eloquence not inducing the House to believe the Petitioner an Impostor, they neither sent him to Newgate, nor rejected his Petition; which were both aimed at. Ten or twelve of his Witnesses proved, that the Trustees had made Laws inconsistent with the Freedom of British Subjects; supported those, who

who went beyond such Laws, in Oppression; and spent the Money, granted for the Use and Benefit of the Colony, to very little

Purpose.

On the other Hand, it was proved, That the Rivers were navigable, ergo-had Water in them; That Trees were growing in the Woods, ergo - Soil fertile; That, in the Lat. 31 Deg. N. the Heat of the Weather was sometimes excessive, ergo ——Climate temperate; That at others it was extremely wet, ergo -- Country healthy; That some of the poor Settlers had contributed their last Half-Crown in making Complaints, ergo ----wealthy; And for a Clincher, a mighty famous Pleader advanced, in behalf of the Trustees his Clients, That Georgia was not intended to be made a rich Colony, ergo —— People happy; though not wise. The Coherence of all which, and more, as much to the Purpose, clearly disproving the three Points above-mentioned, upon which the Petitioner had rested his Evidence, it only remained to white-wash the Trustees; which 0 2

which being a little difficult, he was made to look black for their Sake.

And, not to brand such an Offender without Cause, his Petition was therefore voted to contain false, scandalous, and malicious Charges, tending to asperse the Characters of the Trustees; whose Petition before, and Motion after, for Money, was rejected in the very same Sessions, because what had been granted was misapplied; which proved the House to be mutable in Opinion, as Mr. Stephens observed in his Letter*.

The Trustees being both Judge and Party, by whom the Petitioner's Council were entertained, after the Business of the Day was over; and the Petitioner being scarce able to purchase a Supper, he humour'd the House of Commons, by tamely submitting to so just a Censure; and gave up a Cause, for which he was condemned by some, who grudged to be at any Expence about it. Since which he has deservedly lived in such Disgrace, as, for his Temerity, in exposing Men of Honour, by Men of Honour he was doom'd to provide to the provided to the such that th

As As

^{*} Vide Fol. 111.

⁺ Be it known, He stands a Rogue upon Record.

As to Mr. Stephens, he was one of those, who set their Hands to such a State of the Colony, as represented it in the best Light; faying as much of the Improvements which had been made, as they would bear: By doing of this, he lost the Affections of the People, to that Degree, that they treated Him with Scurrility, tho' once respected above all others; which the old Man peevishly resented, as his Love of Order never could bear with popular Clamour, especially when it came to an Outrage that throws off Decency; and, not making Allowance sufficient for Provocations given, represented them as turbulent and ungovernable, descending to the Faults of particular Persons; in which he might think himself right, as he had himself been ever obedient to Government, and never a Friend more to the vicious than the licentious. Besides which he held sacred every Place of Trust; and therefore always declared off, when he knew of any Thing carrying on against the Trustees, in whose Service he was; as otherwise, upon a very particular Occasion, and at so critical a Juncture Juncture, he might have given them a fatal Blow; had he joined with the People, against those who had broke their Agreement with him, and made an ill Use of his Name, put to that Paper drawn up like an Extraordinary G—tte, neither exceeding or revealing the Truth; which last however he did in his Letters to the Trustees, who were very slow in understanding such Things as made against them.

He likewise made an Apology * for what he had done, to the Person in London, employed

Savannah, 31 Dec. 1740.

particular from me in Return to those Papers you sent: But when I look into them, Confusion comes upon me; and the Task you have undertaken amazes me. The Trustees write me, that those Observations, on the State of the Colony were put by you into Mr. Bramston's Hands, [called by his Friends, Honest Tom Bramston, a Tory, who carried it to the Trustees,] and that your concerning yourself farther imprudently, occasion'd divers severe Reslections on the Trust.

Is it fit for me to enter the Lists and take up Weapons against them? Surely Houour forbids it; and the religious Tie of an Oath to serve them faithfully, is too sacred to be wilfully broken. This, 'tis confessed, you are free from; and who then shall call you to Account? Far be it from me to entertain any the least Thought of your acting on any other Principles (in Publick

ployed by the People, to remonstrate their Grievances too heavy to bear; but as Nothing can justify the least Opposition to such Complaints; so neither can the miserable Situation he was in, be offer'd in Excuse, for what he would not have done, in any Year of his Life, under the Seventy and Second; when

in

Publick especially) than were founded on Honour; but even the best of Men may therein err. In my last I sent a State of the Colony to the Trustees, which must be lest to your, as well as other's, Judgment; whilst I am not ashamed to own my Aversion to black Slavery.

Since it unhappily so falls out that we differ, suffer me a Word or two: I have known by long Experience many Things brought before the House of Commons, by Way of Complaint of Grievances from Men of Authority; which are usually received readily; that afterwards nevertheless have miscarried, and the Whole has been rejected with Contempt, and sometimes with severe Censure of the Promoters. You must imagine that the Trustees are a Body of such Persons, as are not without Advocates in the House, which is often mutable in Opinion; and when Numbers come to be told, even the most experienced among them often find themselves mistaken, and a Majority against them. Having faid this, I leave the rest to Providence: But if the Event proves, that this Colony is no longer worth their Care, where there yet remains a good Number, and we are to be facrificed at last; I shall take my Lot; and leave it to those to think of it with Remorse, who are the Cause of our Destruction.

Your, &c.

Will. Stephens.

To Mr. ____, in London.

in the deepest Affliction, + he set his Hand

to

+ Dear Son, Savannah, 20th Sept. 1740.

Received your's of the 25th of April, intimating I that the mournful Event was come to pass, which a former Letter bade me expect, of the final Separation of your Mother from us all; which has made such an Impression, as Words cannot utter, on the Weakness of a Man already press'd down with Sorrow, Troubles and the Infirmities of Age. Endeavouring to recollect what little Faculty of Reason I had left, during that pungent Grief which oppresses my Heart, I remember'd it was my Duty to lay my Hand upon my Mouth; and without repining, to improve the short Time I have left, that I may make fure of entering that Place of Rest, where I may find her a Saint; tho' from me so many Years by the divine Permission, for my Chastisement and better Instruction. To what End is Grief? Or what does Lamentation avail? Nevertheless'tis a Debt which Nature demands, and Tears are now the only Token of that Affection, which all the Crosses in Life could never extinguish.

When I return my Thoughts towards her Offspring there also Sorrow overwhelms me; many of them toiling in an unkind World, and hardly attaining to a sufficient Competency of living with Comfort; and here you, to whom I am writing, stand first in my Thoughts, who have partaken in a large Measure, of the bitter Draught, whereof the Dregs I fear, yet remain to my Share. More and more anxious do I grow, to learn how it fares with all that are left * of my Family; who now, I fear, are become dispersed, without any certain Place of Resort, where to meet sometimes, and take Council together how best to withstand all Adversities. Pray let me have the Relief my Heart stands

in Need of in this Particular more especially.

Before

^{*} He lost a Son in *India* about this Time, after his All had twice gone to the Bottom by Shipwreck.

to that not very extraordinary State of the Colony, fulfilling but half the Words of his Motto, Incorrupta Fides Nudaque Veritas; for both which he had always had an equal Regard.

P When

Before I shut up, as I am left here for a short While, who (from a miserable Inability to do any good among you) scarce deserve the Name of a Father; fain would I offer somewhat of Advice, by what Means your future Attainment to the most perfect Happiness in this Life, is to be fought; and most undoubtedly, Nothing can so well conduce to it, as Unity among yourselves; and keeping alive that fincere Affection one towards another, which I ever thought (and it has been one of the most comfortable Thoughts in my Life) we subfifting, in the Heart of each of you. 'Tis this divine Remedy that will cure all the Anguish which arises from the bitter Crosses in this Life; sticking together in all Conflicts of Adversity, when a threefold Cord is not eafily broken; lovingly affisting, but not depending upon, one another; and what can hurt you? Others may attain to Grandeur and a richer State of Life; but what Harm does that do you? You'll furely find Peace of Mind here, and Happiness beyond the Power of Devils to take from you hereafter. Tell them all that their poor aged Father entreats them, by the tender Mercies of Christ, to embrace this his most ardent Advice, the last of the Sort I may ever give; and, recommending you all to the Protection of the good God who is the Fountain of Love, I remain

Your very affectionate Father

Will. Stephens.

To Mr. ——— Stephens, in London.

When Contention is carried to such a Height, let a Man's Disposition be ever so pacifick, it is difficult for him to stand neuter; and if he does not go all Lengths, he may as well not engage at all. But he had enter'd the Lists, as he calls it himself, and in a bad Cause, for which he was very soon after rewarded; for, upon a Rumour of an Invasion from St. Augustine, the General thought he had an Opportunity of gratifying his Spleen against the People of the Northern Division, who had fet a-foot the Complaints against him and the Trustees, by leaving them defenceless, and taking their Cannon to defend those to the Southward; who by Means of the Troops there, were kept a little, but not much, more humble. And Mr. Stephens daring to reason upon the Inexpediency of it, without complying as expected, a File of Men were ordered, to "feize the old Rogue, " and put him in Irons;" but it being fignified by some of those present, that the Execution of such an Order might be attended with some Hazard or Inconvenience, the Exploit was laid aside, and he escaped the Death

of a Brother of Sir James Sterling; who was kept in a loathfome Jail which kill'd him, for a not greater Offence: Tho' the disobedience of the other was not forgiven, especially as it help'd to reconcile the People to him; for he was beloved and respected again after this, as before he opposed them.

The Cruelties exercised there, cannot be enumerated here; for the poor Remnant of Inhabitants had no Rest till the General had gone the Length of his String; when his Soldiers were order'd on the Parade, that he might take his Farewel of them; where they waited his coming, whilst he got on Board of Ship, with her Anchor a-peek and the D— take the hindmost; of which his Friend Jones was in such Fear, as to follow the Example of his Master, by taking himself away as fast as he could.

Tho' some may imagine that the General made a ridiculous Figure in that Affair, yet he cannot be said to have had no Faculties, if his Judgment and Foresight be consider'd; particularly in laying Hands on such an Undertaking, projected by Coram, which gave

P 2

it Reputation; His proposing to settle the Colony for the Crown, by Trustees composed of a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who were to conduct this great Affair without Fee or Reward; and who would therefore have the less Regard to it; His sending Mr. Wesley, and after he had ran away, Mr. Whitfield, to make Mischief among the People; His amusing so formidable a Body of both Whigs and Tories, till he obtained the Grant of a Regiment; which served the double Purpose of gaining Wealth and Dragooning the Settlers; His laying paternal Injunctions on his People to oppose any Attempt to bring Mercenaries among them, whilst he solicited the Regiment unknown to them; His Manner of frustrating the Intention of employing Mr. Stephens to good Purpose; And, above all, his Ingenuity in defending the Colony against the Spanish Invasion, a Year after he had ruined it, and as long before he cursed it and vanished.

After the Colony had nearly died of the fame Doctor who wrought so wonderful a Cure in the York-Buildings, it seemed in a

fair Way of doing as well; with this Difference only, that it was for the Credit and Interest of the Directors of that Company, to set Matters right if they could, after they had confounded them; as it was for the Honour of the Georgia Directors to persevere in their destructive Measures; lest their allowing the Colony to do well, should be deem'd a tacit Acknowledgment that they themselves had done ill, or be suppos'd to have been wrong. Therefore the same Government was continued, under the Name, now, of the Council in Georgia, for the Amusement of the Publick; and, to give it Dignity, Mr. Stephens was constituted President; which, with repealing some oppressive Laws, and making other Changes to keep up a false Credit, served to draw a little Money now and then; till at last, quite tired with their Impertinence, they were told at the Treasury, that, having done but very little for what had been granted, they should have no more: When, supplicating for as much as would pay their Debts, they were answered, No; unless they would furrender their Charter, which would difable

disable them from contracting more, and coming upon the same Errand again; and after giving such an Account of the Colony as did not pass current at the Council, the Charter was accordingly carried to the Door of the Lords; where it was received by their Clerk, as 'tis said, and not by their Lordships; who insisted upon the Delivery of it then; altho' the Term was expired, within a Year or little more.

In the last mentioned Station Mr. Stephens continued about eight Years, acting in conjunction with such Men as the Trustees were pleased to appoint, among whom was one Habersham, a Sort of Shopman to a Tradesman in London; who having been seduced by Mr. Whitfield, had turned Methodist-Preacher, and followed him to Georgia; where, in his Absence the Care of his Flock was committed to this illiterate Convert; who had Cunning enough afterwards to fee, that, by striking in with the Trustees, some Advantage might be made in the lowest Estate of the Colony; and, being accordingly recommended by the same Bishop, who had laid

laid his Hands on him, it is faid that he gave a pleafing, and no Doubt different Account from Mr. Stephens,* of the Orphan-House, Saltzburghers, and other Sing-Psalms, who had been supported by the Collections of the Trustees and Mr. Whitsield; and who made up a great Part of the small Number of People there; as also that he came off with the greater Applause, it being suggested that the

Savannah, 20th Feb. 1740.

* TF differing Interests and Views were not enough to set us together by the Ears; Whitfield and his Crew have made it effectual; and whilst he is gone to look to—himself in England, the Nursery he has left behind him here, are pious Pains-takers not to suffer any Disputes to cease, that may keep Enmity awake among us. Your Friend Br—— is become so superlatively remarkable for his great Exceedings in Pharifaical Hypocrify, with a stiff affected Gait, his Hat gently laid on his Noddle, and his Eyes so fixed on the Ground, that they admit of no Light but from within. Putting all together he is thoroughly accomplished as to the outward Man; and I shall not be at the Trouble of medling with the Inward. It is sufficient for me to be aware how I deal with a Person, who, cheated me most vilely very lately, in making me pay double the Value of some Goods, which I could have bought them for elsewhere. This Man, with some others whom you know, make up a Fardle of Brethren to keep alive the Faction, committed to their Care; and, with three or four Deaconesses whom you may likewise remember, are sufficient to hold a charitable` Court,

the Colony would soon be able to support itself, their Honours having done very great
Things for it; as indeed it was then, they
were further told, but for the Expence of the
Civil Government and of Forces to defend
it; for which Purposes, he approved of the
Continuance of Parliamentary Assistance a
while longer; until their Trade was sufficient for the Taxes upon Imports, &c. to defray the Expences of Civil Government, and
that the Colony was able to defend itself.

Court, and devote all to Hell, that don't travel the same Road to Heaven as they do. This is for the good of the Town.

But

It would be vain to attempt a Narrative of the Exploits of these Methodists in this Part of the World. The Orphan-House almost finished, at the Expence of at least, 2000l. is occupied by a numerous Company of Men, Women, and Children; and this grand Family is left under the Care of such of his Followers, from divers Parts, as he was pleased to appoint; the principal Instructor among them being a Presbyterian-Teacher, that he brought with him lately. He designs himself to take the first Opportunity of sailing for England: And what next—Who can tell?

I have always thought it my Duty to acquaint the Trustees with these Proceedings; which, surely must be displeasing to them.

To Mr. — —, in London. Will. Stephens.

| These received private Donations, for carrying on their charitable Designs, as the other did for his pious ones.

But not without giving them to understand, that their President, being far advanced in Years, and having no Genius for Trade, was unsit to be at the Head of that Colony.

Some of the Trustees were so captivated with his Speeches, that Mr. Stephens seemed in a fair Way of being superseded; before it was fignified, by one of more Sagacity or better Meaning; that, after having been reproach'd in the House of Commons, for the Malpractices of Pettyfoggers, Taylors, Night-Constables and Blacksmiths, it would not be much for their Credit, that the only Man of Sense and Probity, they ever had employed, should be supplanted by a Jack-Pudding. But this he could not prevent; for the Whitfieldian had Craft enough to get himself appointed Secretary for the Colony, Clerk of the Council, and one of the Issuers of Money; which gave him the Power of keeping Mr. Stephens to his Post. Whether upon the Credit of this alone, or a little Help elsewhere, he settled a Correspondence in London, and carried over a Cargo, as 'tis called; and commencing Merchant, opened his Shop in the Place Place where the Money centred, engrossing all the Power to himself; nor was it long, after be had once got his Foot in the Stirrup, before he shew'd he could ride.

It must be confessed, that in the very wretched Condition of the Settlement at that Time, such a Promotion could make Matters but little worse; though by a Fatality in the Councils of the Trustees, they were as seldom Right, as if they had studied to be Wrong, and never had desired to see a good Establishment of the Colony; or, notwithstanding the Faculties of their old Servant began to fail him, for which they had his own Words now, as well as the Methodist's, they would have found him a Colleague of less Avarice and mean-spirited Insolence.

Being but little more than nominal President, and his small Allowance being so very ill paid, that he had often been reduced to the low Diet of Roots or some Kind of Herbage, with a Beverage, only Water, brown Sugar, and Rum, to cheer him; and his Spirits failing to a great Degree, he yielded in almost every Thing to the other, for Peace

fake

fake; where he faw that Contention was unlike to produce any Good. But Mr. Stephens was still an Eye-fore to the Methodist, whom he had never worshipped any more than he had done Mr. Whitsield himself; it was therefore necessary to get rid of the Person who had long stood in their Way; which was not to be done by Application to the Trustees; who, notwithstanding, kept him so miserably poor, that he ran 10 or 20l. in Debt to this Merchant; who was preaching against Riches, and for Love, Charity, and all other Christian Virtues.

And now he could take his Revenge of him, that had been no Friend to their Hypocrify or Proceedings;* one Instance of which, among many, was his taking an Opportunity to affront Mr. Stephens, by delivering his Account and demanding Payment in Publick; at the Time it was well known, he could no more pay, than others, to whom the Trustees were in Arrear; but Insults, which only depressed the Spirits, did not break his Heart; whose very Be-

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^{*} Vide Fol. 119.

ing was an Offence, so long as in the least it stopt the Career of the other; who thought himself so far above Controul, that Attendance on Mr. Stephens, which his official Duty required, ill comported with the spiritual Pride and worldly Vanity of the pious Christian, as meek in Profession, as demure of Countenance.

Not very long after the Account was delivered, the grand Point of removing the Person so obnoxious was carried, in a Manner, of which Jews would have been ashamed, and the Heathens would have blush'd at. This great Man, with another or two, being at the President's House one Asternoon, upon Business concerning the Publick, the latter dropt asleep in his Chair; as younger People often do, in the hot Weather of that Climate; and his Buroe being open, the Saint fearch'd it, and found therein a little Money. Upon the Discovery of this hidden Treasure, though reserved only for the Purchase of such Necessaries, as kept Soul and Body together, in the Uncertainty of a Ship's Arrival, the Righteous Man was not able to contain

contain himself; but, suddenly rouzing the seeble Debtor from his Seat, he pointed to the Buroe, saying, "You old Rogue! There's "Money"———And then to the Prison, which was seen from the Window; "And "there's a Jail,——which you shall go "to, if you don't instantly pay me."——

The Job was effectually done; for this Violence put him into fuch an Agony, that notwithstanding he was capable of writing before, his Memory being only somewhat impaired; yet, unable to sustain the Shock, he never did much more Business after, than write to the Trustees for Leave to resign; and, about the same Time also, to beg of his Son,* for a small Relief in great Necessity; which added not a little to the deep Grief of them Both: But much more so to that of the Father, did the Death of the other, soon after he gave it: When, bowed down

^{*} Dear Son, Savannah, 25th July, 1750.

WHAT I now write without Doubt will appear furprifing to you, but Necessity will admit of no Law; and therefore I hope you will forgive my drawing a Bill on you for Nine Pounds, Ten Shillings, and Ten Pence; and I do promise to repay the same to your

down more with Afflictions than Years, Mr. Stephens was so incapable, sometimes, almost of giving a rational Answer, and always of helping himself, that it was the Business of one to look after him, at his little Plantation; to which he was carried, and where, his Strength of Body surviving his Senses, he remained till the Oil was exhausted and his Lamp totally extinguished.

Having always been kept extremely poor from his first entering into the Service of the Trustees; it is remarkable, that they settled an Allowance on him during the two or three Years he lived, in so helpless a Condition, after resigning his Office. But the Parliament

your Brother here; having full Confidence in your kind Compliance I remain,

Your affectionate, loving Father,
Will. Stephens.

To the Reverend Doctor Stephens, at Barking, in Essex.

By Captain Holloran. 2. D. C.

This was probably the last Letter that he ever wrote.

ment granting sparingly, his Pension was small; and, the Money going thro' the Methodist's Hands, there were great Complaints, of his Modicum being so ill paid, that he was inWant of Necessaries, so short did it fall of a decent support; notwithstanding the Humanity of the Trustees must be acknowledged in this Particular. Tho', as it does not appear, that any of the Tories among them had ever exerted themselves so much in his Behalf; and Sir John Barrington being late in the Trust, together with Mr. Hooper, who had Both shewn great Regard to some of his poor Family, with whom they had but a flight Acquaintance; it is presumed, that Charity may be ascribed to those two Gentlemen, without Injury done to his Tory Friends in general; who, little as it was, scarce ever didso much either for him or his.

In this Way he languished about three Years longer; hardly able sometimes to recollect his Way, or, at last, to totter from one Room to another; until the Middle of August, in the Year of our Lord 1753, and in the Eighty-third of his Age; when, be-

ing asked to Tea and seated, a Dish was offer'd him, of which he tasted without swallowing; faying, with great Composure, "I have " done eating and drinking in this World." And being led away to his Bed, he laid, unable to speak or receive Nourishment, till the next Day at Noon; when, without Pain or Sickness, Priest or Hobgoblin, it may be truly said, that in Peace he refigned his Soul to the great God who gave it. But, whether honest as a Walpole, faithful as a Poultney, wife as a Dunk, just as a Legge, or steadfastas a Pitt; or whether difinterested as aWhig, or friendly as aTory, he left us a fad Example of the Old Maxim, which Some may imagine has been already too often repeated; tho' Others, not without Reason, think it ought never to be forgotten: That PARTY is a Contrivance only to SERVE PRIVATE INTEREST.

CHAP. VII.

His Religion and Superstition, Politics and Companions, Prejudice and Prophecy, Character and Family.

HE general Uniformity of his Conduct, and Tenour of his Behaviour, confider'd in publick as well as private Devotions, there is no Room to doubt of his being a true Member of the Church of England, of which he professed himself.* He Reclared

Savannah, 20th Sept. 1740.

* THE Methodists, you say, die away a-pace; and that J. W. was lately blown and scouted at Bristol, &c. I wish I could say the same here, where Wh—reigns triumphant. His Doctrine among us, is the same I presume, as his Brethren teach elsewhere; "Concerning a New Birth, from whence Conviction will follow of our Unworthiness, then Conversion comes of Course, and next Justification by Faith alone; and when we are come to that State, we shall feel the Holy Spirit move within us, as sensibly as the Sun-beams on our Bodies: Such as arrive at this, are the Heirs of Salvation; but unless we attain to that Persection, Hell waits for us, and so it does for All them that teach otherwise."

The humble Sanctity in Appearance, which he first set out with, is blown over; and his Carriage now shews plainly the inward Pride of his Heart. Wherever he goes Distraction attends; Families are at Variance.

declared too, that, amongst the several Modes of Worship in Use, the Liturgy of our Church seemed to him, the most rational; and that the Religion of Dissenters, placed in hearing of Sermons, seem'd to him as inconsistent as that of a Papist's saying so many Prayers, or telling a Number of Beads. However he did not deny, but the Service of a Church, sounded in Iniquity, might admit

riance, Parents and Children opposing one another; and here, most People of Sense are so weary of him,

as not to go to Church.

I am forry to see your old Friend John—— one of his principal Corner-stones, having always looked on him as a Man of better Understanding; besides whom, I know of none worth naming, except a Parcel of weak Women; only Jones, you may be sure, has it in his Heart and Blood to join with any or all such as weaken the established Church.

Thus under a Notion of an Orphan-House for training up Children * in the true Religion; 'tis expected to be filled (as he has begun) with great Numbers that he shall pick up from all Parts; and with proper Schools, 'twill become a Seminary for a future Spawn of Sectaries (of what Kind God knows) ready prepared to combine with too many, that we know already to be incessant in their Labours to overturn the Best of Churches. What Heed can be given to a Man's professing himself of that Church, when we daily see her Liturgy mangled, many of the most sublime Parts of Devotion omitted, to make Way for extempore Enthusiasm,

*The Vice and Immoralities of those so trained, are said to be such, as deter People from taking them for Servants.

admit of some Alterations; though lame as it is, it may be said, as David did of Goliah's Sword, and therefore unfit to be put into the Hands of those who think,

As if Religion was intended, For Nothing else but to be mended. Hud.

His Charity was, notwithstanding, extended to all; though he had but little more Hopes of a Protestant Hypocrite than of a R 2 Popish

thusiasm, the Surplice laid wholly aside, and Baptism, though not absolutely resused, yet put off for another to do.

As he had an Anabaptist-Teacher (a Taylor by Trade) with him at his House, who frequently preached to the Congregation in his Stead; and went hence with him: So he took Care we should have another, of the like Stamp, to instruct us whilst he was abroad; and the Person appointed in his Stead (a Sort of Pulpit Merry-Andrew) dins the Ears of those that go to hear him, with his nonfensical Explication of that abstruse Point of Election, which the most learned Divines touch upon with great Caution; whilst this impudent Quack makes as familiar with it, as if he was in the Council of the ALMIGHTY. And it is expected by some, that before he goes off, he will put his Imprimatur on fuch as he thinks worthy to be number'd among the Saints, and deliver the rest over to Satan. 'Twould be endless to pursue this.

I remain,

Your, &c.

Will. Sterhens.

To Mr. in London.

Popish one; who will stick at Nothing totally to destroy both Church and State; which the other, were it in his Power, would be ever subverting, under the Pretence of working a Reformation.

Of the Two he granted the latter to be the less hurtful, tho' more numerous; Hypocrify being an Accomplishment only of a Priest in the Romish Persuasion; and never failing, either among such of the Protestant Saints, as shew most extreme Diligence, in their Function of Soul-saving, or those taught that Salvation depends upon Sermonhearing; where it equally moved his Pity and Wrath, to see the Deluded rending their Hearts, and the Insincere their Garments, with their Eyes sixed on the Cieling.

And, like stunn'd Calf, with Whites of Eyes upturn'd. Anonym.

From a Belief that such were not in Pursuit of Truth, he was no more fond of going to bear or worship, which means the same Thing, than of bowing to or kissing an Image of the other; tho' where Preaching was the established Religion, as in Scotland and Georgia,

he went to such Assemblies, among others professing Christianity, for Example sake; and behaved with great Decency, however absurd was the Doctrine, or ridiculous the Action, of the Teacher.

For the same Reason that he did not delight in going to hear them, he avoided Controversy; but not without letting them know, however, That the Way to Heaven is plain; and, incomprehensible as Religion was made to appear, by those who did it so great a Dishonour, as, in the Days of Ignorance, to make more a Mystery of it, than was intended by our Saviour; whose Doctrine is most plain and intelligible; That there is still sufficient left, both in the Old and New Testament, to direct us in the right Road, without the expounding of Prophecies and Revelations; and, strolling into Paths unknown, 'till lost in a Labyrinth, the Hearers are told for their Edification, That what soever comes to pass was fore-ordained, &c. &c. &c.

This being the Case with such Pulpit-orators and their Audience, he would admit of no other Use there is in Preaching, than to instruct instruct the Ignorant, and to put the Knowing in Mind of their Duty; notwithstanding which, he agreed with the dignissed Clergy, that 'twas best to let alone our Field-Preacher, Conventiclers, and Mob-Lecturers; but he thought nevertheless, that an apparent Negligence, for many Years past, had furnish'd a Handle for a certain Sect called Methodists, to give the pretty Epithets of drowsy Shepherds, dumb Dogs, &c. somewhere; which have been so plentifully bestowed without Distinction.

His Notion perhaps was something singular, in making a little Difference betwixt a Toleration of Persuasions, and Disregard of Religion; and betwixt giving Liberty of Conscience, and destroying the Religion established; for the Sake of those, who by their Life and Doctrine, certainly have but Neighbour's Share of either. And it would have been Matter of Concern for him to have seen Equipages, at the Tabernacle in Tottenham-Court-Road, waiting for Persons of Rank and virtuous Education, preparing to combine with too many, that we know, already, to be incessant

incessant in their Labour to overturn the best of Churches.

It was his Opinion that Enthusiasim would subside, if the Clergy would only fight them at their own Weapons; for, allowing the Love which the Generality of People have for their Ears being tickled, they would rather it were done by a Man of Sense that will tune his Voice, than by the unintelligible Jargon of meer Lungs and Front.

And he would fay, how must a Man with a Scarf and starch'd Band, in a handsome Peruke, affect a Congregation? When, by the Help of a Glass of Courage, taken in the Vestry, he stands sawing in the Pulpit, and his Words dropping insipidly from him, as if he was falling asleep, whilst the Coffee is making to refresh him after the Fatigue is over, of speaking as if he does not believe what himself is saying.

It must be confessed, that in ordinary Congregations, sew are Judges of the Subject or Discourse; but yet it is too mean an Opinion to entertain of Mankind, That People will not be sooner charmed with Reason enforced

forced by Assurance, than captivated with Nonsense laid down by Impudence; and this is well known in Churches well served. It is evident, to every observant Man, that eminent Preachers in the Church of England never fail of a full Audience: The Names of several now living, might be set down here, but are omitted for Brevity sake; as they are not a few and also well known to the Publick. Therefore with humble Submission to some Reverend Gentlemen, although fuch extempore Preachers may be better let alone, yet their impious Designs ought neither to be connived at, nor to pass unheeded, by those whom they traduce. But if a Prelate could tamely witness the passing of a Law, for Transportation of innocent Clergymen like Felons,* he might also patiently submit to Indignities offer'd himself.

It must likewise be confessed, that every Divine has not the Talent of speaking well, though learned and pious; and, it is to be seared, that too many, who can, are seldom disposed to exert themselves. As for the First,

^{*} Marriage Act.

First, if, from the Indiscretion of Parents, a Man has the Misfortune of being brought up to a Profession of such Consequence, for which he is not qualified; in that Respect, a reasonable Share of a good Stipend, apply'd to the Support of an Assistant, would procure such an one, as would draw the very Presbyterians to Church; especially if the Allowance was sufficient to enable him to pursue his studies with Comfort, instead of being told -- I can be served 51. cheaper And as for the Doctor who can speak and will not, his Supineness is less pardonable than Enthusiastic Madness. He therefore proposed the Faithful and Diligent should have a comfortable Support out of the Superabundance given to the Drowfy and Dumb.

Another Cause to which he imputed the Growth of such a Pest, was the Want of Churches in those Parts of these two Cities where they mostly swarm; for, notwithstanding the Multitude of Examples of Irreligion and Immorality in high Life, there is unquestionably a Portion of the People, and 'tis to be hoped not a small one in every Rank,

Rank, who from a Sense of the Deity have a strong Impulse to some Sort of Adoration; and if they cannot join in that Sort of Worship which they were first taught, they will in some other, which to them appears similar. Thus it is for the most Part, that weak Minds, in Time, are debauched. And a more particular Regard ought to be had to them in the Metropolis than elsewhere; because it takes the Lead in Customs and Fashions, as well of Praying, as of Dressing and Addressing.

He was observing in 1737, when Methodism was but newly starting up, that none of
those Sectaries would ever rise to any Head,
if, to the due Discharge of the sacred Function, were added only 10 or 15,000 l. per
An. for Building of Churches, and making
Provision for Persons qualified for the Pulpits
in them, and computed it thus; that a decent Place for divine Worship, and two habitable Houses, might be built for a Sum
from 20 to 30,000l. So that a Church rising
up once in two Years, there would have been
the Addition of at least twenty Churches by

the Year 1760; as well for the Ease of Thousands of good Christians, who stand; crouding and interrupting the Devotion of each other, in the Ailes; as for the Reception of Tens of Thousands, who would gladly join in publick Praises and Thanksgivings to their Creator and Redeemer once on the Sabbath, instead of celebrating that Day, only by a Walk in the Fields, had they a a Place to go to. And supposing each Parish to have no more than 200 Houses in it, they would be able to support both a Morning and Afternoon-preacher, neither of them to have less than 1001. per An. clear, Surplice-fees excepted. And as to the Notion of a general Indifference about divine Service, as People are too apt to imagine there is, from the thin Congregations which fo frequently appear in the City; it must be observed That great Part of the Inhabitants are in the Country, where they go to Church; That the Dissenters are numerous in the City; That he that sleeps not, hath a full Congregation notwithstanding; And, tho' the Churches are many, That two drowfy Con-S 2 . . gregations

gregations would fill one, with those who might be roused from their Slumber, in Spight of Roast-Beef and Port. And he was of Opinion too, that the Nation would not have been fifty Millions the poorer if the Money for the first had been spar'd out of Sums gone from this small Island, within the last forty-sive Years, towards the Support of a Country of such Importance, as to make all that belong to it really and truly Dear to this Nation, whose Religion is said to be dependent on, and preserved thereby.

If Politics and temporal Affairs would permit, possibly the Attention of the Right and most Reverend within their several Jurisdictions might have a good Effect; which may be hoped for, when neither themselves, nor the Religion they profess, are subservient to the State; therefore Tribes of Enthusiasts cannot so multiply or increase as to become formidable to this State; which, surely, is in no fair Way of becoming subject to any other, in a Course of Years; as that poor mistaken Man did, and other silly People do, imagine. In short, he had such a Regard to Ordon-

Ordonnances, that he would have been pleased at the Sight of so strict an Observance of the general Fast, when the Quaker's Windows were broke for opening his Shop; and so much a Bigot was he to Superstitions of Old, that he would have lamented to have heard obscene Ballads singing in the Streets, and to have seen all Shops open with indecent Figures, in some of them, exhibited on Good-Friday; which he observed as a Day of Humiliation for Christ's Passion; as he did the 30th of January, for the Sins of his Grand-father; imploring of the Almighty, that they might not be punish'd to the Third and Fourth Generation. But that Part of divine Worship in which he most delighted was Thanksgiving; though he thought it prophane, when, upon some Occasions, ordered by Princes after Victories gained.

These were his Sentiments as to Religion; and as to Morals, its Offspring, he could not think them much improved, as some will insist upon, under a Parent who has none; nor would he grant the World to be grown much better, though politer; since in Exchange

change for Drunkenness, and other ungentleman-like Vices, there are Covetousness and Gaming, Deceit and Hypocrify, Extravagance and Corruption, Fornication and Adultery with some, more unnatural and detestable, which never more abounded; tho under the Disguise of Gallantry and Pleasure, Prudence and Piety. Nor, on the other Hand, would he allow of so great a Depravity, as the same Casuists insist upon; and who only, can reconcile, to the Goodness of the Age, the Reverse of that Precept, which teaches to believe every Man honest, till he is found otherwise.

To conclude, as he believed in God the Creator, and in Jesus Christ the Redeemer, of Mankind; so likewise he did in a Tribunal, where every Man shall be judged according to his Behaviour in this Life; therefore did he govern himself accordingly, and endeavoured to do as he would be done by: Nor did he think him damnably cheated neither, who had not his Laugh out in this World, as some would persuade us to believe; though

though he would say in his Mirth, that he thought the Gloomy cheated themselves.

And agreeable to what he professed was his Example, his Time being spent accordingly. He was never so easy as when in the Country with his Family, though ready at all Times to leave them when Duty required. And, notwithstanding he had no great Passion for the Entertainments of the Town, he could make it agreeable in Turn, by dividing his Time betwixt Business and the Company of a few plain Men of common Sense, chosen from any Degree under that of Nobility, for whose extreme Delicacy he had not much Relish, more than for the Grimace of the Courtier.

But at his Home, he took Pleasure in indulging such Thoughts as he was naturally prone to; and which, the Hurry and Business of the Town, he ever complained, caused a total Dissipation of. His Garden and Farm, though large, was no more than an Amusement to him, and served to relax and unbend his Mind from severer Applications. As no Man had more Regard to Or-

der, so he lived here by Rule; and would not suffer the innocent Pleasures of his Youth, such as Hunting, Bowling, &c. to interfere with the Duty of the Day. Oftener rising before than after six in the Morning, the Year round, his sirst Business was to retire to his private Devotion.

The next Thing was to attend domestic Oeconomy; an Article in which he was so regular, that Accounts were duly kept, for above three-score Years together, of Receipts and Disbursements, Tradesmen's Bills, &c. which, at the End of each Year, were tied up and endorsed with the Names of the respective Persons. He also kept Books in his own Hand-writing, of every Acre of Land he plow'd, with what sown, and the Produce of the whole Farm.

No Man scarce ever had a better Turn for Improvements ornamental and useful. The Disposition of that Farm to which Colonel Dudley gave the Name of Buen Retiro, was so elegantly rural, that it is said to be one of the prettiest Places in England; for the' he was always doing a little, he followed the Simplicity

plicity of Nature so much, that there was very little Appearance of Art in whatever he did. His Plantation in Georgia was so laid out with Vines, Figg, Mulberry, Orange Trees, &c. for Use, that it is the most delightful Place in those Parts, tho' all the Buildings upon it, did not cost 100l.

The Morning Business done, he walked thro' his Grounds, and returned to Breakfast with his Family; after which, if not interrupted, or called off, he read, and employed what other Time he had to spare, which was very little, in instructing or playing with his Children; on whom he did not keep so tight a Rein as did his Fore-fathers; nor one so loose, as now, in an Age not less licentious, which will not give even so much as a gentle Check. At Nine at Night he collected all his Family together; and after giving Orders for the next Day's Business, he read to them the Psalms and second Lesson with the Collects of the Day, and so concluded it.

AS to Politics; in Regard to the State, he thought, as of the Church, that the Constitution

tution was the best in the World, -till mangled by Sir Robert, as the Liturgy is by Mr. Whitfield; therefore Nothing could ever tempt him to be concerned in any Proposal for making Innovations in either. And from an Apprehension of some bad Consequence, of the growing Power in one Estate of Parliament, in Proportion to the Diminution of the other Two, or either of them, he opposed Sir Robert, and that Party which savored of the Republican; blaming him for the Means which he used to procure a Majority, for the Support of Measures repugnant both to the Reputation and Wealth of the Nation, and to the Constitution of Church and State.

Whether they differ'd in Opinion or not, Mr. Stephens adhered to his own, as to such Matters, without entering too minutely into the Merits of continental Measures and Alliances, in which that great Minister distinguished himself, till we had no Ally left; as a near Relation of his said in the House of Commons: And besides, Mr. Stephens always declared himself ignorant of the System

of Politics in Foreign Countries; which, from so many different Interests, were productive of frequent Jarring among them, and of Expedients with us, too profound for his shallow Understanding; who judged himself, indeed, that, in this Country, a Minister's Time might be as well employed in Oeconomy at Home, as in making Mischief, or carrying on of Intrigues, in a Country as foreign to this, as such Negotiations are to its Interests; for with their Troubles we have no more Concern, as a Nation, than we have Connection with Germany; unless in Respect to Trade; and so we have indeed with the Wars of the Turks and Persians. This he thought to be the Case with Ministers in his own Country, whatever it may be with those on the Continent; who also might neglect their own Affairs perhaps, whilst such Negotiators are so mighty busy, where they have so very little to do.

He was the more apt to entertain this Opinon, perhaps from Notions which he had conceived of the Climate, Produce, and Situation of this Island; for he thought, if T 2

they were consider'd, together with the Genius of the People, its Powers would appear! to be immense; as would be found by others, if its Interests were pursued independant of theirs. He therefore imagined, that the Preservation of the Constitution, and Protection of Trade, were more worthy the Attention of a Minister here, than that of prying into Cabinets abroad; of which they are so fond, whether for the Sake of Lucre or to be thought knowing; and if the first of the two chief Objects were scrupulously observed, as it ought, the other would not be found difficult. For our Neighours might be left to quarrel among themselves; tho' not without a Visit to some of their Ports, now and then made by a British Flag; especially when called upon to arbitrate any Differences among them, or to affift the weaker Side; who would be a natural Ally and glad of your Commerce for the sake of the Commodities produced in this Country, which are necessary to others; and thus by the Disposal of them, Trade would vastly extend itself, in Spight of every Power upon

upon the Continent, not excepting French
Enemies, nor even Dutch Friends.

And he was so chimerical, as to imagine likewise, that those Two great Ends might be obtained without the Help of a standing Army; without a Debt of one Hundred Millions; without making a System of Corruption; and without aggrandizing a Petty State, or First and Petty Ministers and all their Kindred.

Nay, he was so absurd, as to say, that Luxury and Extravagance were not of more Service, in a Country, than Industry and Frugality; and that exorbitant Taxes were no Advantage to Trade; notwithstanding Half a Million out of what was raised by the industrious Poor, should, by such Means, go to the Support of those who signalize themselves in the Service of their King and Country; not only in their profuse Consumption of Imports, brought in foreign Bottoms and paid for in Money; but by their Addition to the Revenue, for Customs paid; which proves the Exports to exceed the other, and the Ballance being therefore great,

in Proportion to the Excess of Imports, that the Increase of Riches here is without End; and like an Argument without Principle, in Matters of Speculation; in which there is such a Concatenation, arising from Circumstances, as they from Continges, and these again from Markets and Manufactures; which depend upon the Fate of Kingdoms, in the Hands of unstable Men. And therefore, notwithstanding that from such our Trade, Buildings and Debts, the Addition of Wealth is supposed to be vast, yet to evince a Ballance growing in our Favor, would almost puzzle a Barnard, or indeed a Locke; whose Doctrine of Ideas, did not enable Mr. Stephens to make himself quite so much Master of the Subject, as that single one, of getting Money, does those in Trade.

He was certainly very unfortunate in his Way of thinking, which differ'd much from the present Mode; for so great an Admirer of Merchant Adventurers as he was, he yet thought Trade was best confined to the City, and not suffer'd to creep through Temple-Bar. Therein was he singular again;

gain; for, fince a Market was erected at Westminster, a Commodity produced in most of the Burroughs in the Kingdom is become a Staple, of which there has been a prodigious Sale; and to vast Advantage is that Sort of Traffick carried on, by such Managers as are so frugal, that they will not throw away 7000l. which to them is a Concern of Moment, in Order to save 100,000l. per An. a meer Trifle to this Country; -which stands in no Need of such Savings, though paid to the Enemies thereof; whilst the Financeer is raising Supplies, to the Honour of the Nation and to please the People: Which proves however, that Industry and Frugality are of Use if judiciously applied, especially as great Estates are got by Wholesale Dealers, tho' not by the industrious Poor, even among that Sort of Traders, as they deal only in the Retail Way; though far beyond any Thing that Mr. Stephens ever attempted; as it does not appear, by his Accounts, that he ever ventured above 51. in the 20 and 5 Years he was concerned, and that was expended, TOWARDS an Entertainment, with the Corporation

poration at Newport, AFTER he was made Commissioner.

Being neither Politician or Tradesman, his narrow Thoughts were so confined to Fundamentals, that he never would argue upon Contingencies, relating to Government or Trade, or to the Trade of Government; which to him were as unaccountable as the Measures from whence they arise. And remembering a Maxim in Chemistry, — if all Things are rightly prepared the Operation will surely succeed, — he became less and less solicitous about Expedients, which he did not understand any more than he did a peevish Opposition; which, though antient and fierce, subsided in the Year 1742, when the Tories fulfilled his Prediction of their helping that Sort of Men to what they wanted; who, under the Sanction of Patriotism, are restless in every Reign, which they cannot govern and direct to their own private Advantage.

To be plain, tho' he lived and died what is called a Tory, he was the Man, whom a Patriot, bawling for Liberty, would appear

to be; and would allow of no other Difference betwixt Tory and Whig-Principles than this: Not denying but the best Constitution, framed by Men, may be liable to Inconveniencies, he believed, however, those arising from a due Support of Monarchy might be remedied; because there is only One, and that an open Enemy, to deal with; but thought the Notions of Whigs out of Trade chimerical, and fuiting only fuch as must have their full Share of that Power, which they would throw into the Hands of a People, pursuing their private Interests; and therefore so different are their Views, that, divided into Parties, they are as productive of Mischief as Pandora's Box; and if, by a Jumble of fuch Patriots, the Nation should be ruined, tho', according to Law, they might thank the Delusion; and therefore should the Country become a Prey to Others, it would be no great Consolation to the Slaves of this; that it was their own Doings; for which Reason he dreaded the fostering in his Bosom a secret Enemy never to be come at.

U

And

And he therefore died a Martyr in the Cause of the Tories of his Time, whatever they thought then, or Party means now; because their Success might better have effected the Security of our Religion, and Liberty likewise, which, above all Things, the Others appeared to be in so great Concern for, than that Principle which distinguishes so little betwixt Liberty and Licentiousness, as to subvert, without putting in Order, what they bring into Consusion.

But all that has been said to provehe had an Eye to Merit rather than Party, does not amount to more than his own Words* and Dictates of

his

PLEASE your Grace, this is to bag the Favour of you to remove Mr. Will. Stephens, of this Island, from being a Justice of the Pease; he is on of those Men that allways opposed your Intruss on your Elections, and all your Friends down to this Day; he is on of those Men that meets and belongs to the Tory Club, and meets at each others Houses [which his Grace knew very well, having made one among them at Mr. Stephens's.] If you had forgot me, to remind you, I was one of your Inspectors; the late Duke your Father did doe me the like Favour; he turned out Mr. Benjamin Bagsser, [a very worthy Man, his Indolence only excepted, and which was such, as, 'tis said, made him desirous of being left out of the Commission] and it have been a great Ease

Interest than Party, tho' of more Party than Principle; for, if we may judge of a Man from the Company he seems most fond of (as Mr. Stephens's Choice of Companions was agreeable to his Sentiments of Religion and Politics) it may be imagined, that he did not think the worse of himself, for living in U 2 Charity

to your Friends. If this was done it is my Opinion it would be on Means that this Sort of Wead would not be sent to the House again, no more to ad, but my Service to your Unkle my Lord William, whome have laid at my House. Ever Since the Reverlussion I have been a faithfull Servant to your Family, and ever shall remain the same till Death.

Joseph Whitehead.

To the Duke of Bolton.

The ANSWER.

May it please your Grace, Barton, April 22d, 1724.

Whatever Motives might induce Mr. Whitehead to apply in so impudent a Manner to your Grace, I think myself obliged to make my Address also; wherein I hope to obtain Pardon, since 'tis intended in the most grateful Manner to acknowledge your Goodness in sending me what Mr. Whitehead had thought fit to suggest concerning me. It is no small Satisfaction, that when he had been putting together all those Faults which his good Will could find, he has not attempted to lay any Thing partial or unjust to my Charge, in the Discharge of my Office. The utmost that his Malice

Charity with those whose Actions he did not approve of; whilst he did his Part, in opposing of Measures, which they were industrious in the Support of; and more especially, when a Man of that Sort declared himself without Reserve, and adhered to what he professed.

Though

Malice could attain to, has been to accuse me of keeping Tories Company, and having opposed your Grace's Interest. As to the First, my Lord, I readily own that I keep both Whig and Tory Company; and that indifferently; never declining either; being of Opinion, that if all Gentlemen did so, Peace and good Neigbourhood would thrive the better, and Party-Strife wear off; which has so unhappily created Breach of Friendship, in many Places. Could he have charged me with Disaffection to the present Establishment, I dare say he would; but in that I defy him.

As to the other Part, which he meanly alledges against me, of having opposed your Grace's Interest, I cannot deny but it has been my Missortune formerly to be opposite. The same Motives are not always alike cogent, nor ever will be. I can appeal to all that know me well, that I never entertained the least personal Disrespect for your Grace or Family; and this Scribler was not aware that he was writing to a Person of Honour, who knows how to overlook and generously disdain the Remembrance of

fuch Things.

Mr. Whitehead had indeed some Cause to wish my Removal from the Commission of the Peace; since to his Cost I would not suffer that Commission to be set at Nought by him; when he insolently took a Warrant of mine from the Officer who had the legal Execution

Tho' there is a Sort of Men for whom he had no greatVeneration; for he divided Mankind into three Classes, the UPRIGHT, the DOWNRIGHT and the SHUFFLER; of which Characters, he preferred the First, as the most easily attained and best understood; and

next

of it, put it in his Pocket, and discharged the Person in Custody; for which I preferred a Bill of Indictment against him at the last Assizes. This, my Lord, is the real Grief. I humbly beg Pardon for trespassing so long on so dirty a Subject, and remain,

May it please your Grace,

Your most obedient, and

Respectful humble Servant,

To his Grace the Duke of Bolton.

Will. Stephens.

SIR,

April 25th, 1724.

Have received yours, and you have judged very justly, that I could not by any Representation (except proved to me) so much as hurt your Character, or to have an ill Opinion of you; especially when it came only from Mr. Whitehead. I shall be always very glad to do you any Service in my Power, and am,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Bolton.

To William Stephens, Esq.

next the Second; because, when once you find the Interest of one of These, you know where to *Have* him; but, looking on the Third as amphibious, and possessed of the ill Qualities of the Second, without his good ones, he made a Ballad * on them, and sung it to the Tune of * * * *

The

* The OTTER and JOCKEY.

I.

YE jolly brave Huntsmen, give Ear to my Story, That's neither relating to Whig or to Tory; Such Names I abhor as puzzle the Nation, As hard to be construed as new Moderation:

The Thing I shall tell, Which lately befel;

And is Nothing but what you all know very well, How Gentle and Simple, by Land and by Water, Went out very boldly to hunt a poor OTTER.

IT

The Otter long Time 'mong the Willows had nested, And many a River full sore had infested, The Trout and the Minnows, the Tench and the Gudgeon,

By him were devour'd by some People's judging; At length 'twas thought best,

At length 'twas thought best, Full eighty Miles West,

To fend for a Dog that could hunt out this Beast:
And Jockey must drive him by Land and by Water,
Sure never was Sport like this hunting the OTTER!

III.

The Hunters all met and each other faluted, Two Hundred and Fifty at least were computed,

All

The Occasion of it was this: Information having been given of an Otter seen, and the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood agreeing to hunt him, they actually sent into the West-Country for a Dog; but after all, could

find

All lusty young Fellows with Weapons tremendous, Expecting what Sport Lady Fortune would send us.

Some hoopt and some hist,

And Jockey, he pist,
But as for the Otter he thought of it least;
So Jockey walkt by as an idle Spectator,

And left it to Others to hunt out the OTTER.

The Sportsmen were staunch at the Game which they hunted,

And therefore resolv'd they'd not be disappointed, Tho' Jockey was lazy and car'd not a Tittle,

Curs, Coxcombs, and Spaniels shew'd plainly their Mettle.

Thro' Plashes and Briars, Away went the 'Squires,

Prigs, Cuckolds, and Blacksmiths just hot from their Fires;

But T—n expected his Wife and his Daughter Would hunt a fresh Game while they hunted the OTTER.

V.
The Rout for a while thus disturbed the River,
Alas! but their Toil proved not worth a Stiver;
They trod down the Sedge, and kept a great Pother.
While most that they did was to blame one another.

When all at a Stand, And no Otter found,

A Miller hard by said he was in his Pond,
Oh! then they resum'd their old Vigour and Clutter,
And all except Jockey had Hopes at the OTTER.

find no other Species of Otters than the Super-subtile, who were lying by against a general Election. And whoever knew fockey, or remembers some Trimmers of those Times,

VI.

The Miller embarking in Boat with flat Bottom, His Pond was furrounded with wife Men of Gotham, Who gaping intent while the Miller kept thumping, A Hole was discover'd from whence issued Something;

> Some faid this and that, And I know not what:

But those that were knowing said it was but a Rat: Hey Touzer, hey Jockey the Rabble did mutter, And they killed the Ducks, by Mistake, for the OTTER.

VII.

The Miller tormented to see his Missortune, Did think it high Time to leave off this Sporting; And finding he brought himself into a Scrape, Was willing the Vermin should make his Escape.

Yet, say what we will, The Otter's there still,

As safe in the Pond as the Thief in his Mill.
But near was a House where all thought it better,
To tipple, than hunt any more for the OTTER.

VIII.

Now Trimmers, like Otters, say some People jarring, Are neither good Fish, nor yet Flesh or Red-herring; They always suspect that no Good is design'd 'em, And the Water once troubled you never can find 'em.

They all of 'em know,'
'Twixt high Church and low,
To find an Occasion to move to and fro.
In Shuffling and Trimming by Land and by Water,
They take their Advantage as well as the OTTER.

Times, must allow the Allegory to be good; for he often set out well, and his Courage as often sailed him, when the Game was pushed by those who were more staunch.

It might be the better understood, if it were said, that, as Mr. Stephens ranked the just Man in the first Class; so, he that avowed Iniquity and stuck at Nothing was of the Second; but those of the Third are more numerous, whether they come under the Denomination of the Cunning, the Perfidious, the Reserved, the Timid, the Shuffler or Amphibious; for all which he would allow of but one Class or Species, notwithstanding their great Variety and Difference in Genus. And such of them, as were once. found neftling among the Willows, he never much liked, no more than he did an Otter, Miller, or Brewer, whether a Highlow or a Low-high; which with him fignified an impudent Strut, sometimes seen in the Unbred and Ill-bred, in Contrast to the mean Spirit, too often found among their BETTERS.

X

But

But, to illustrate his Meaning still farther, he ranked Mr. Strachey and his own Son in the first Class; not doubting but a thousand others, in this Kingdom, might each find as many of the like, among their Acquaintance: But the worshipful, his steady Grand-father, who could better fwallow a Bolus than himfelf could do a Pill, it is to be feared, was but of the Second; as were Kouli Kan, alias Shaw Nadir, the Lord Protector, and the Grand Corrupter. And as for the Opponents of the last, who did not always mean what they faid, he looked upon them as amphibious; not excepting a northern Potentate and his Train; who not a dead Mark, like a Mag-pye of the second Class, must be taken running, or moving to and fro.

The lesser Sort of these Water-vermin he paid so very little Regard to, that if he was to look up now, (as he was accustomed to do, or strait forwards, but never sideways,) and to see an Animal nestling in any Ruins at Whitehall, or moving to and fro betwixt the Bank-side and the Stream that runs that Way from Lincolns-Inn-Fields, he would trace

trace him; 'till, by the Width of his Step, he could find the Length of his Leg; and if it was but a Rat he would let it pass among the innumerable Diminutives.*

There is another Sort of which he had no Notion; this seems to be not so much depressed as the former, and is often found among Shipping, with the Head above Water and a Tortoise in its Teeth, betwixt two amphibious Beasts, one looking downwards, the other askew.+

But if he was to listen, and, at the same Time, to hear a Creature of a larger Size Moving To and Fro, with great Strides; and was to catch him doubling in the old Track of others, he would suspect him lurking, a little sometimes, among the Osiers, in order to prey upon Gudgeons; a Sort of Fish, of which there is great Abundance, and are

X 2 eafily

To what can a Man be compared better, who, not unmindful of himself, though unjust to others, does as he is bid, to keep a good Place, whilst he re-

ceives a goo-d Box?

[†] What Praise is due to a Man so fit to be sole Secretary for Plantations, as to be ignorant of, or connive at the Abuses of some of the Rulers, as well as the governed; and particularly where a Lieutenant has been long a Witness of a most scandalous Trade? Such Connivance here is bad, whether from Love or Fear of fuch Potentates there.

casily taken when the Water is disturbed, as it is very apt to be in that River. But he would wait before he hunted him, to see whether it might not turn out a downright Land-Animal; for the such are often noxious, yet he Might prove simple and inossensive, or perhaps useful.

It having been already observed what English Prejudices Mr. Stephens entertained in regard to his Country; so, as others, as strong against the Proceedings of his Countrymen, contributed to his Ruin, they ought not to be passed over without Notice; for notwithstanding he was a Man of great Forbearance, yet if he did resent, which was very seldom, he never cared to have any Communication with the Person again. And it is very remarkable, notwithstanding his Love of Society, Affability of Temper, and Aversion to Disputes, in Affairs either of a publick or private Nature, that he could scarce conceal the Disgust he took, sometimes, to those who were bought with a Price to betray their Trust, in regard to the former; altho' he was too apt, perhaps, to give up a Point, rather than quarrel for

Breach of Faith, especially in publick Concerns, he thought unpardonable. Therefore, not granting that this Nation must necessarily be undone, because others have been, and even the mighty States of Holland, are likely to suffer an almost total Eclipse, he would have no Hand in its Destruction; and, though he allowed that it might be ruined, he would not partake of the Plunder, meerly because others did so,—who could see no further into such future Events, than to prophesy the Fall of a Building, shaken by themselves.

These were the Men to whom he preserr'd Kings; because the Great who are in Office under them, being bound to obey only the lawful Commands of their Sovereign; and, not bound to serve, whenever they cease to be such, they might advise and resign, with as much Decency, as to bully and throw up, when he does not gratify their extravagant Ambition or insatiable Avarice; and because, in his Name, they put in and turn out; as, in that of the Publick, they set Him up and pull Him down, for the same

Reafon

Reason and from the same Motive: And if their Conduct is called in Question, and they can't easily bring their Prince into the Scrape; it is vindicated by a Swarm of Scriblers, employed to make a Jumble of Comparisons, and to charge preceding Reigns and Ministers with Crimes unknown. Tho' he allowed that the Failings of the Stuarts were great, yet that they did not extenuate Crimes committed fince, of which base Invention and false Reports are an Aggravation. the Great, for the Time being, are said to be wrong, you are stunn'd with Cries against the old ones; as that the States of the united Provinces are in Debt equal to ourselves, the Finances of France are worse than our own, and that their Trade is quite ruined: Which, whether altogether true or not, serve first to confound, and then to justify every destructive Measure, or Scheme, as wild as the General's of marching his Regiment 700 Miles from Georgia through the Woods to Moubille; and from thence to go and take the City of Mexico, which was proposed before he left St. Augustin behind him, and returned

returned to Frederica, afterwards attacked in Turn by the Spaniards.

Though such Geniusses are not always to be depended upon, his Stratagem in defending himself with 700 Men against 2000, may deserve to be mentioned here, it having been omitted in a more proper Place. Upon Intelligence of their intended March, of 10 or 12 Miles through the Woods from St. Simons, where the Spaniards had landed in order to attack Frederica, he lay in Ambush; and a Deferter coming in to them, his Piece went off by Accident; upon which, fays the General, That Fellow has ruined us, hang him up; but those who knew he was innocent interceded for his Life: Then, replied the General, let him make his Escape; for he knows our Number to be few, and will fay that they are so; and order'd a Letter to be wrote, by one suspected or known to correspond with the Enemy, setting forth the Strength of the Garrison to be double what it was; and that a Reinforcement of Militia, Indians, &c. equal to that double Force, was hourly expected; which Letter, it is faid, was. carried

carried to the Spaniards, by a Desperado, hired for that Purpose, and that upon Receipt thereof, they hanged the other, and decamped.

But to return: -Mr. Stephens made great Allowance for Kings, though some in England had brought Troubles upon themselves, which they might have avoided; particularly he, that lost his Head, would not have fuffer'd by the Hands of those Blood-thirsty Men, who trampled on his Dignity in that Manner which they did, if he had been regardless of the Prerogative or Bulwark against. the many-headed Monster, that intestine Foe to the Peace of these Realms, the Spirit of Democracy: - That his Son Charles's Reign. might have been more tranquil, if he had paid due Regard to his Prerogative, and been more just than witty: -- That his Brother. might have reigned longer, had he not been obstinate in a foolish Affair, which sew about him had any Regard for: - That, if. the Deliverer had returned Home without a Crown, he would not have felt a Thorn in it; and that he ought to have humour'd the Dissenters in every Thing, tho' they would have

have been as content with Nothing:—That if his weak Sifter-in-law had continued and protracted the War, in which he had engaged, no Body knows the Refult; or how great the Advantage would have been, even to those who hated her, as much as she loved her Country.

The Errors and Omissions of these in our own Nation are too conspicuous to pass unheeded: Though he thought that a Kingdom often suffer'd more from the base Contrivances of its own Natives, than from the Monarch, on whom the Blame falls; and this might be exemplished in many Instances of some foreign Countries, but little known, and the less they are known the better, to this.

However, In further Defence of Monar-chy and Monarchs; suppose the King of one Country was invited to another; and for Instance, the last Scene, in America, bringing to Mind a barbarous People; suppose the Sachem* of the Habnvahns, or of any other outlandish Folk, was made to believe, by a

Tribe

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Tribe of Wheegulps, that they would make him a great King over the Ingeelees, and to rule in Peace; and suppose the former Part of his Reign to be disturbed both by the discontented Wheegulps and the Teerooreeroos; as also, that the very Heads of that Tribe, who invited him, did it only to serve PRIVATE INTEREST; and that therefore they regarded not him nor his Office so much as a Post: No Marvel then, if he discover'd a Hankering after his own Country, from whence they brought him, and where he could have more of his Will; or, it being the Object of his Wish and Desire, if he were to make it rich with the Spoils of a Strange People; or, in Case his antient Territories were to be invaded by the Nations of Candanians, Hanganians, the Muskitovies or Sweevites; if, to defend his own, he skinn'd all the Vermin, among so perverse a Generation, whether Otters, Rats, or Badgers, where would be the Surprize; or who could find Fault with it?

Mr. Stephens allowed Kings to have their Sympathies and Antipathies as well as other tho'

Men; tho' he held their Office so sacred, that, let who would sit on the Throne, he would scarce so much as say the King was in the Wrong; but would have rose from his Grave at hearing the Beloved Man * of the Ingeelees say, it was for the good of their Country that their Skins should be sent to Habnvahn. He would have told him,

One may speak with a Tully's Tongue, And all the while be in the Wrong.

Prior.

One might fancy a Dialogue, betwixt his Ghost and such a ghostly Patriot.

Gh. I am here to tell you, that tho' this War, carried on for the Sake of the Hahnvahn's Country, should prove successful, you will injure your own; and therefore do you wage War, and that a mighty one, with the Candanians only, who want to take your Country from you; by which War you will be more enabled to affish the others.

Pa. The Fleets which I send out are vast,

Y 2

and

^{*} First in Council.

they can muster in all Candania.

Gh. But you send great Fleets to take lit-

Pa. If I had fent such a Force against Candania as our Country might have done, it would have put so speedy an End to the War, that neither our Warriors nor Beloved Men would have reaped sufficient of that Glory in which is their Delight.

Gh. Your Expeditions miscarry sometimes, notwithstanding they are sent against trisling Places, unheard of almost 'till now.

Pa. I plan them well; but alas! our Men of War waste that Time in holding a Talk, which should be employed in making an Attack.

Gh. No Nation ever produced better Men, some few who encamp among the Wigg-waams,* excepted.

Pa. That's very true indeed; but loving Command for the Sake of a glorious Shew,

^{*} A House in the Singular, and their Words, being few, a Town in the Plural Number.

Shew, these very Warlike Men will have it; and, behind the Screen of the old Wiggwaam, where all the Beloved Men hold their Talk, are of too great Consequence to themselves, to be controlled by me.

Gh. If you had pulled down that old Wiggwaam and erected a new one in the
Manner you talkt of, they would have
had no Screen there.

Pa. It being built after the Model of a famous great Architect, in the Time of our Sachem's Father, and commodious for holding a Talk foreign to the Interest of the Ingeelees, he would not permit it.

Gh. If you had infifted upon that, as much as your coming into Place, it had not been denied you.

Pa. The old Builders being against it, I was afraid to undertake it of myself.

Gh. There is no Want of Artificers, whose Assistance you may depend upon.

Pa. But had I proceeded against the Will of the Sachem in pulling down the old Wiggwaam,

Wiggwaam, he would have employed another Builder, and I should have lost my Place perhaps.

Gh. You would have preserved the Affections of the Nation of Ingeelees though.

Pa. Without Sal—there is no Savour.

Gh. That's confessing you don't design to die a Martyr to your Country.

Pa. Ibelieve it is best to prop the old Wiggwaam till—

Gh. It falls about your Ears. You talk § like a Warrior, and act like a Pappusch.*

Pa. Why, fince a Report has been spread, that I humm'd the Old Squaah † and humpt the Young-one, some of the Builders, whom I should employ, are said to be grown shy.

Gh. The old Woman is too good to be abused, tho' credulous, and unhappy in a giddy, idle Daughter, who betrayed her Vanity in the Days of Skeefen.‡

But

* Child.

[§] Than which, Nothing is more contemptible in the Eyes of an Indian.

[†] Woman or Wife.

[#] See Fol. 44.

But as you have taken from her what you can't restore, the best and only Recompence you can make is to marry her. And for the future, fay no more of what you will do, but what you have done. Waste not her Wealth, nor destroyher Mother's Sons in mad Schemes and Enterprizes, as ill concerted as conducted; by which, and Love of Borrowing, the York-Buildings Company became Bankrupts when their real Capital exceeded all their Debts. Remember, as a fad Example, how great the Georgian Hero might have been among mortal Men, when he took his Station in the Moon; Mark him tumbling out, and how much beneath them heafter fell; when as heedless of Credit, as regardless of Blood and Treasure, (instead of extending his Territories to Moubille, as by this Time he might have done,) he decamped with an Army of Spectres, which haunt the Brains of ambitious Men; till, bewildered, they are lost in Pursuit of Fame.—Regard

not idle Tales, nor harbour Fears as idle: But be bold and fear not; down with the old Wiggwaam, it is not yet too late; and there is no Want of Hands who will help thee to fet up a new one. Let the Building be plain and open, without Party-wall or Screen; the Materials must be all of Ingeeleean Growth, the Heart quite found and untouch'd: Be it without paltry Ornaments or tawdry Gilding, and without Flowers which harbour Insects and heterogenous Animals, filthy corrupted Vermin.—Let not the Building be narrow, but spacious enough to receive all the contending Tribes. There do thou make, and keep Peace among them. Teach the Tribe of Wheegulps Honesty, and the Tribe of Teerooreeroos Wisdom. For Beloved Men chuse those whose Hearts are * strait; and they will find thee chofen Warriors to vanquish foreign Foes; as thou wilt do domestic, without Ax or Halter, or turning out for the Sake

of putting in. For you know, that it is a standing Maxim, He who declines the Service to which he is called, declines his Command also.—And so shalt thou reclaim the Daughter, and give Length of Days to the Mother: But break not her Heart lest you hate your own.

The Sprite vanished, and left him pensive.

MR. STEPHENS observed, though there are Instances of barbarous Nations being civilized, yet that History does not give a great Number, from among those once sunk in Luxury, which did ever recover their pristine Strength and Vigour. Not that he believed the Fall of Empires was always owing to Effeminacy in the People, or that they became really enervated by living well.

And notwithstanding it was his Opinion, that the excessive Extravagance in this Country, for a Gratification of the sensual Appetites and Pleasures, might in some Particulars surpass the Luxury of the old Romans, as in that of the *Turtler; setting aside some

Z few

^{*} A Vessel sent on Purpose to bring Turtle from the West-

few delicate Triflers, it was likewise his Opinion too, that the People are still so far themselves, that the Labourer is as strong, the Husbandman as diligent, the Merchant as bold, the Soldier as brave, the Seaman as intrepid, the Studious as learned, the Gentleman as agil, and the Fair as virtuous, as in any Nation or Country whatever.

But, at the same Time, he foretold that some Vices which were creeping in would be the Overthrow of us too soon; and in particular, Avarice, the Attendant of the voluptuous and luxurious as well as the penurious, as Hypocrify is of Avarice; for, whoever ventures his own Money at Play, covets another's, whether he wants it or not; and he that covets will not lose an Advantage; and, if such a Man will cheat his Companion, he is avaricious.

If then a Man of Education becomes so abandoned to this Vice, that he will stake his Fortune to ruin his Friend, he will sell his Country to retrieve his Fortune, and though

West-Indies, when he was the best Man who could cat most; but the Project sailed, because they died in the Passage, and not because of the Expence.

though perhaps, at first, he may receive a Check from his Monitor,

Some Voice of God close whispering from within;

Wretch! this is Villainy and this is Sin!
Pope.

Yet Conscience once laid quiet, the Sin grows too familiar for him to make a Boggle at any Thing for the Sake of Gain; and he goes on, in Sight of Servants, to whom Admonition are not wanting, and of Children, on whom no Expence is spared for a virtuous Education; but—what an Example?

And he thought the Case was pretty much the same with all who played the Game, whether of St. S—'s or St. A—r's; to one of which the Spendthrist and the more fordid Miser are equally addicted; and he that will persevere in any one Respect, knowing himself to be wrong, is not to be trusted in any other.

If a Chance at one of these Seminaries happens to finish what Horse-racing, Building, Gardening, Routing, and Drumming, to gether

gether with Dress, Equipage, Furniture and other Vanities have left undone; the Other is as open to him as to One, who, under the Mask of Frugality, goes for the same End, and with the same View of Gain in order to gratify some particular Pleasure.

Suppose a Midshipman was to walk the Quarter-Deck in a speckled Shirt and Trowfers, he might think it sufficient that he did his Duty; but it might be expected too, that, as he was better paid, he should be better dressed than a Man before the Mast; as he would for Distinction or Decency Sake, if he did not intend to spend his Pay, in Drinking, Wenching, or some idle Vanities ashore. And so, if a thrifty C—of E—was no more to fill his Office than when he was an Apprentice there; it might be presumed, tho he would do as he was bid, that some Vanity, fuch as Title, or Badge and String, without Merit, induced him to fave his Pay. As a Gentleman of the Law observed, if a Student came into Court a Sloven in the Morning, that he was a Beau at Night.

Or if a L—— of T——, with a small Estate, was troubled with the Distemper of Building, it is most likely that he would think fit at last to yield, in order to obtain Relief.

And if a S——y likewise, of exalted Ideas was satigued, with planning Expeditions of Wheelbarrows, he would comply, for the Sake of relaxing in the delightful Amusement of Walks and Shades, Fruits and Rivers, beheld from the Mount he had raised; where, from blowing hot and cold he enjoyed a sweet Breeze, with a Prospect unbounded of Ships occupying great Waters, and Armies fighting in foreign Countries.

and the like, it might be only changing the Property of a few Profligates, which would fall into the Hands of the Industrious; but when the Contagion spreads to such a Degree, that, being countenanced by turning a great Seat of Wisdom into a Gaming-house, the Vice of Covetousness is catched by every County, City and Borough in the Kingdom: And, if the Mask be laid aside, and he is

the best Man that gets or spends most, what a Corruption of Manners must ensue, when Luxury, with Covetousness, Hypocrisy and its other attendant Vices, become as general among the Ignorant, as they are already among the Knowing!

He thought of Nations as of Women, that they do not become abandoned to Prostitution at once; but that Modesty, of which there is a Species, though different, in both Sexes, being once lost, there is as little Sense of Honour and Credit lest in the one, as of Virtue and Reputation in the other; and that, tricking as trick can, for the Support of their Vanities, they vie in Fraudulency till a Man cannot trust his Neighbour.

Mr. Stephens was indeed as superstitious in political as in religious Affairs; and reslecting upon the State of the Nation, as well as upon the Dispositions of the People, he was of Opinion that it would fall, tho' it might rise again out of its own Ashes; for that neither the Strength, Diligence, Agility, Bravery, Intrepidity, or Learning of the Men, will any more defend us against the fatal Consequences

quences of Bribery, than Hypocrify will a-gainst Avarice, or the Beauty of the Fair a-gainst an Enemy in open Arms.

He often said, that amidst all the Wealth and Grandeur of this Nation, it would be brought to Straits; from advanced Rents to support the Landlord's Extravagance in Town; from the Luxury of the Pedant in the Country, and from the Taxes, for Payment of Interests and Support of Government; which all together, would raise the Price of our Commodities; till, by a Decay of Trade, the Publick would be as unable to borrow as to pay.

pay.

He faid, moreover, that the Nation might be brought to this Pass by contending (injudiciously) with Enemies for the Sake of defending our Friends; for that after our Enemy, ruined already in our Imagination, found the Debt was sufficient to embarrass All the Change-Alley Men, an honourable Peace would be worth a Million of Louisdores, of which he doubted not their Skill to apply; and the more so, as it might create a War among Ourselves.

And,

And, if it came to that, a Stagnation of Credit would occasion a Sort of Poverty, of which our Enemies might avail themselves, as our Friends have done of our Riches; for Murmuring will succeed Discontent, as That does Poverty, till Complaints are brought on; and Disputes running high, for and against the Accused, till Parties are multiplied, Truth and Falshood will be so blended, that Nothing but the Doctrine of Justification will be believed; when it may be thought expedient to encourage the Preachers thereof, for diverting a Storm in order to be saved; and, Families being at Variance, from fuch a Kind of Democracy, fuch Confusion may proceed, as will disable the Nation from ever expending another Hundred Millions, in Defence of the good old Cause to which they may owe their Ruin; unless it should happen, as it often does in private Life, that a Nation, once become Bankrupt, may obtain fresh Credit, and be trusted with more Confidence than before.

But the Building being so large, that Robert of Norfolk a stout Plebëian, who could pull pull down the Pride of a Priest, or level a Noble, only shook the Foundation, and left one Part leaning against the other Two; therefore a total Demolition of the Fabrick may not happen, Till Scandal passes for Wit, and a Grin for good Breeding; Till Modesty is become a Laughing-stock and Plain-dealing ill Manners; Till Silence is mistaken for Harmony, and Despondency for Unanimity; Till the Government lies in neither the King, Nobles, nor People; No, nor Till Fraud passes for Wisdom, and Merchants turn Counsellors; Till Honesty be thought Folly, and Statesmen become Traders; Till Avarice is a Virtue, and Nobles turn Sharpers; Till Hypocrify passes for Religion, and Princes become Methodists; Nor, in aWord, Till Money buys ALL, and Kings turn Usurers. However, Until there shall be a Concurrence of these Incidents, All may seem right in the Eyes of THREE Patriots, renowned for their Justice, Wisdom, and Resolution.

MR. STEPHENS, being of a Disposition for an active, rather than a sedentary Life, A a and

and engaging in Business whilst young, made no very great Advancement in Learning; and the greatest Part of his Time being taken up in publick Employments, he had but few Leisure-hours to spare, either for Study or Reading, after he left the University; neither had he a Taste for some Branches, in which both his Brother and Son excelled him; parricularly the Metaphysics and Philosophy, and such others as to him seemed to be of more Use in Schools, than out of them, unless applicable to particular Sciences; allowing what is called universal Knowledge to but very few in Business: And his Taste being rather to dwell with the Living, than to converse with the Dead, he did not penetrate so far into the Study of Divinity, as to question the Existence of a Deity, or to deny the Miracles of our Saviour, whose Precepts were the Rule of his Life.

He was not, however, so ignorant either of the Civil or Common Laws of his own Country, nor such a Stranger to the Fundamentals in Government, or the Policy of different

ferent Countries, laid down by Historians antient or modern, as to be unqualified for greater Employments than he ever aspired to; and as he studied Men more than Things, and Matter more than Words, he made himself useful wherever he went. Tho' he was feldom at a Loss for what to say, yet he was careless as to the Manner in which he expressed himself; and so little Regard had he to the Power of Language, that he never aimed at it; nor would he affect to talk much upon Business, or to assume more than his Share in Company. In Writing, likewise, he never preferred Method to Substance, as in the Stile of the several preceding Specimens may be eafily perceived, fince he studied only to be understood; however, he was so accurate and exact, as, by some, to be thought prolix. He often said, that his Pen would not keep Pace with his Thoughts, though he made great Dispatch; and so correct was he, that he would write Sheets without striking out a Word, and whole Quires without striking out a Line: Indeed, his great Abilities wanted a larger Sphere of Action. No

No Man, perhaps, notwithstanding, was more cautious of his Words, as well in Speaking as in Writing; for, though he made too sure of the Matter to stand in Need of Retraction; yet an Error of less Consequence gave him no small Uneasiness, which created a Diffidence of some of those Abilities that often turn to the Advantage of Orators; and seeing quaint Speakers sometimes at a Loss, and often in Need of Help, as well those in the Secret as others, he seldom troubled the House of Commons with what he could not demonstrate in sew Words.

From his Behaviour, considered in the three Stages into which his Life is divided, and his steady Adherence to Truth, one might be induced to imagine, that he would neither accept of a great Employment to do as he was bid, break his Word for the Sake of the best Men in the City, or fear to make the the Use intended of a Power given him by the People—once of a Mind!

And by his Oeconomy in private Affairs, as well as in publick, it might be supposed, that he would not think the giving 7000 l.

worth the Attention of the Publick, as the giving 500,000 l. to an Ally for Contingences, or as the advancing the like Sum to a Commissary, where a much larger might be dispensed with; especially as the Wisdom of our Conduct in America, is a Proof, that all must be right which is done in Germany, where a War is most miraculously grown out of Ohio, and not from any Attachment whatever, that is foreign to the Interest of this Nation.

Though he was punctual to his Word, and so easy of Access to the poorest, that he never disappointed, or kept any Body in Suspence; yet he was not such a Slave to others, but he would keep People to their Time, that he might have some to himself: And, being no great Worldling, he would relax, it may be said, rather than indulge: Particularly in Eating and Drinking; for at Breakfast he was abstemious, seldom exceeding two Dishes, and those mostly of Cossee. At Dinner, he sed heartily on something plain, and had done quickly; saying, when others

others were enjoying themselves at Trencherwork, "I wish I could live without it:" As to Supper, he ate none; taking a Pipe of Tobacco and a Draught of Ale only, before he went to Rest; so temperate was he in all Things, the Use of Tobacco only excepted; for, besides a Pipe, early in the Morning, and another the last Thing at Night, he would smoak as many in the Day as he could afford Time for, but without a Drop of Liquor; for though he could drink hard, and fit up late, they were neither of them his Choice; nor would he do either so far as to be discomposed the next Day; of which he was seldom in any great Danger, as the first Disorder he found from Wine, was a Loathing at the Sight of others, intoxicated by drinking to Excess.

Mr. Stephens had, doubtless, a very strong Constitution, being scarce ever sick in his Life. Tho' he was rather of a large Stature, yet, as to his Person, he was handsome enough, and his Complexion and Countenance were storid and open; he was a Gentleman of so great Vivacity, and so quick a Sensation, that

it was with Difficulty he could conceal such of his Passions, as were predominant, particularly Love and Joy, or their Opposites, Anger and Grief; and having none of the diabolical Faculties, such as Revenge, Envy, or Avarice, he was the less folicitous of appearing in that Disguise, which is necessary to compass GREAT Designs; but this laid him open to the Designing; for as he meant no Harm himself, he was the less suspicious of any Artifice or clandestine Proceedings in others, especially such as he mistook for Men. of Honour. And therefore, entertaining too favourable an Opinion of those he conversed with, he engaged too far in their Affairs; for, when once he was convinced that he was right in the Object, his Warmth of Temper prompted him to pursue it, without Regard to Persons and Times, though not to Circumstances; of which, indeed, none can judge properly but the Profound.

These untoward Qualities proved his Undoing in the End; for, not being formed for our GREAT Employments, he neither could manage a Borough with Judgment, nor even

betray

betray his Friend to promote the Interest of his own — as he might have done, and not left them Beggars, if he — — had a Wish so mean as to be GREAT.

HE had seven Sons and two Daughters; of which William the eldest, who has been occasionally mentioned in the Course of this History, discovered a Propensity to Learning when at a Grammar-school at Newport; from whence he was sent to Winchester, where he distinguished himself again; and afterwards to Queen's-College in Oxford, from whence he was elected Fellow of All-Souls; and being brought up in the Civil-Law-Line, he made a Proficiency in the Study of it, and took the Degree of Doctor of Laws; tho' Divinity was always his Choice; which, in Duty to his Father he laid aside, greatly against his Inclination, and not without much Entreaty.

Accordingly, being entered of the Temple, he applied himself to the Common Law, and was called to the Bar; when, knowing the Particulars of his Father's Circumstances, he commended

commended his Wisdom in bringing him up to that Profession; not only because the Chance he had, of rising in it, was greater than that of his Preferment in the Church; but because he might be more at Liberty to make the most of the Estate which was then left; tho' it happened too late; for, as their Poverty became apparent, they were deserted by their Friends; and being involved in the Affairs of the Family, to whom he was a Father in their Troubles, he was interrupted in his Practice, which he had followed with no less Perseverance than Reluctance: Until, at last, he gave the following Reafons to his Father, who was grieved, for his changing his Bar-Gown into that of a Canonical one, so long wish'd for; of which they neither of them had so good an Opininion, in general, as of the Lawyers; whose Pomp the Son made merry with, on Sight of their Procession to Westminster-Hall, saying, " if I don't get so much, I don't spend so " much."

"Tho' the Law (said he) is an honoura"ble Profession; yet a strong Constitution

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"is

is absolutely necessary to rise or get rich in it; besides which, either a large Inte-

" rest, or a good Acquaintance with great

"Attornies is indispensibly requisite. The

" First I never had; the Second, if it ever

" existed, is lost; and, not having attained

" the Third, I never made much above a

" hundred Pounds in any one Year of the

"twelve of my Practice; tho' I have atten-

" ded the Circuits, and been stewing every

"Term in Courts, where the very Town is

" my Aversion. And this is the Case with

" many others of superior Abilities, who

"drudge on, and hackney out their whole

"Lives to as little Purpose, as I have alrea-

" dy done the best Part of mine."

In 1736, he was ordained at Wells, in order to his Qualification for a Curacy, at Cleve in Somersetshire, which he undertook only during the Life of an infirm Incumbent; from thence he went to another at Lockinge in Berkshire, likewise for a Time; and after that to one at Hasely in Oxfordshire; from whence he commenced Vicar of Barking in Essex, in the Gift of the College of All-Souls, which

which fell to him in 1746, upon the Death of Mr. Owen, his Predecessor and Fellow-collegian; where he officiated, till seized with a Fever, in a bad Habit of Body, which got the Ascendant over him after many Years Struggle, and dying on the 27th of Januaty 1750, in the 53d Year of his Age, he was interr'd in the Church-yard there, according to his Desire.

This Man inherited all his Father's Virtues, to which he added a greater Command of Temper than the other; who (as before observed) was never taught to check it, by those who had studied more to please than to improve him.

The first Part of his Life was spent in a close Application to Books, particularly in both moral and divine Philosophy; which, with the Knowledge of Men that he had acquired, made him as fit to live (tho' not to get Money) in this World, as he was prepared for another. These enabled him to bear up under his Missortunes with such Patience and Fortitude; that if the Motto, O Pater omnipotens, siat Voluntas tua sicut in Cælo, sic B b 2

etiam in Terrâ, which he prefixed to his Will, was not for ever before his Eyes, it was deeply imprinted on his Heart; for his Troubles came upon him much heavier than he expected, when about Thirty Years of Age; inasmuch that great Part of his Time was employed ever after in Endeavours to support and provide for the Rest of the Family; which he thought more incumbent on him than to prosecute the Study of Divinity, his great Delight. He therefore left very little of his Compositions behind him, ordering in his Will, that all his Manuscript Sermons should be burnt; which his Executor might have spared without a Crime, as they had gained him the Applause of learned Audiences and full Churches.

He was of a moderate Stature, and his Body rather thin than corpulent; his Complexion was dark-brown; his Nose prominent, and his Eyes lively; he was very active tho' his Constitution was never strong; which was hurt, and his Health greatly impair'd by a too severe Application to his Studies in his Youth; he was sprightly, and, tho' serious,

serious, rather chearful than grave, being never affected with the Spleen; he was always very abstemious in his Diet and moderate in all Things, from a Study of the Passions; and tho' his own were very strong, Compassion and Benevolence were predominant; which endear'd him to his Parishioners so far, that his most intimate Friends and Relations could not lament his Loss; with greater Affection: For all of them efteemed him as an agreeable Companion, a fincere Friend, a good Neighbour, an excellent Preacher, a diligent Pastor, and a pious Christian; and, in a Word, One who was strictly just, and truly generous. -- Poor Qualifications for Preferment!

MR. STEPHENS left no other Children of fuch Note as to merit a Place in this History, though they were a Family, it must be allowed, as little addicted to Vice as most, except the ambitious Oliverian Doctor, who stoop'd for the Estate: And therefore, notwithstanding neither his Avarice nor Hypocrify were so remarkable, but that he might

might even now, have passed among those who do pass for a good Sort of Men; yet it must be confessed that his Worship appears to have been fitly qualified to serve in any Times.

And now the Family is nearly extinct, there being very few left, except the two Daughters of the Physician, who are in Possession of antient Cock Crouch, it being the almost only Part of the Estate which the Family is at present possessed of, and returned to the Richard's again, in whose Name it stood in the Time of Awdrey, and who were then the elder Branch: For tho' the Children of Mr. Stephens's Daughter are taken Care of, yet those of his youngest Son, three Orphans in Georgia, are left Minors, to be fed by him who feeds the Ravens. Thanks to the Times; and to the Conduct of Mr. Legge, of Lord Halifax, and of Mr. Pitt; or otherwise the Duke of Newcastle would have faved them, by doing Service to his Country.

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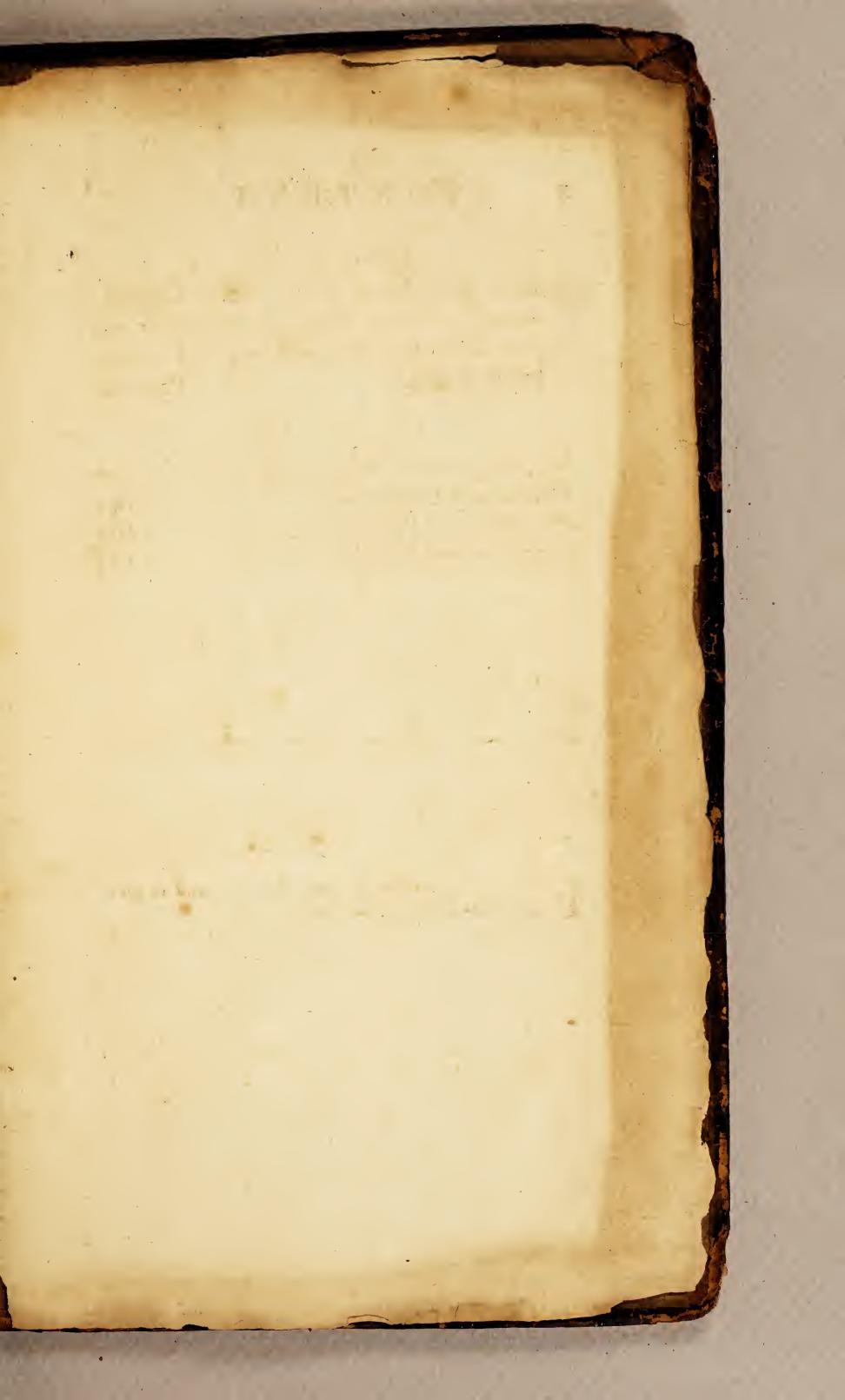
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